The Fatawa-i-Jahandari of Zia ud-din Barni, Translation with Introduction and Notes

by

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Abstract of Thesis

Title: "The Fatawa-i-Jahandari of
Zia ud-din Barni", Translation with Introduction
and Notes.

In this thesis an attempt has been made to translate, examine critically and analyse the political doctrines of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, the major extant work on Indo-Muslim medieval statecraft written during the pre-Moghul period of Indo-Muslim history. The importance of the work is threefold - its existence only in one manuscript copy, its singularity in the field of Indo-Muslim theories of government and politics, and its expression of the ideals of an Orthodox Indian born Muslim, who maintained a bitter hatred for all non-Sunni sects of Islam on the one hand, and all non-Muslims on the other. It is not so mu ch for its contents as for its uniqueness, that it has been prescribed as a text book in the syllabus for M.A. in political science at the University of Aligarh, India.

In Part I of the Introduction an attempt has been made to establish the authorship of the work on the basis of internal and external evidence, which its form brings into question. Special attention has been devoted to studying the relation of his ideas to his personal circumstances.

Part II of the Introduction throws light on the form, content, scope and the style of the work and examining the authenticity of its historical anecdotes. It is concluded that Barni was not very careful in sorting his material, and he often indulged in historical mythology.

Part III of the Introduction is devoted to the study of the political doctrines contained in the work. An attempt has been made to compare briefly its doctrines

with those of the Medieval Muslim writers on government.

While translating the Nasaih, special effort has been made to adhere closely to the Persian text, but where literal translation was found to be damaging the sense, it has been avoided. The lacunae and errors of transcription in the manuscript have been corrected by reference to Barni's previous use of the same words in the text; by seeking help from his three other available works where these words occur repeatedly, and partly on the basis of the translator's own discretion.

Notes to the text have been put at the end.

The appendix consists of a short note on the history of the manuscript, and a list of the lacunae and damage in the manuscript.

The Bibliography contains a list of the works consulted in the thesis.

In preparing this work, I feel highly indebted to Professor C.H. Philips and my best thanks are due to Dr. Peter Hardy for his very great encouragement, valuable guidance and helpful suggestions. I also owe my gratitude to Professor A.K.S. Lambton for the kind assistance she extended to me in the solution of difficulties in the text of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari. I feel under deep obligation to Miss J.R. Watson of the India Office Library for helping me with Arabic texts. My sincere thanks are due to Professor Mohammad Habib and Professor Abdur Rashid of Aligarh University for lending me the copies of the manuscripts extant in Indian libraries.

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INTRODUCTION.

Section A.

The Authorship of the work:-

A reader of the Fatawa-i-Jahadari[1] is first confronted by the question of its authorship. The opening words of the work are as follows:-

"Fatawa-i-Jahandari by Zia-i-Barni, the well wisher of the Sultan's court."[2]

The Name of the author as Zia-i-Barni occurs again on the same folio after a few lines, where the statement runs thus:-

"So says Zia-i-Barni, the well-wisher of the Sultan's Court after a study of a number of baooks"[3].

But after these two direct references, the author throughout the body of the work refrains from making any personal statements, which could enlighten a reader about his other biographical details. Should however the very mention of Zia-i-Barni be accepted as a conclusive evidence of the author's name?. Normally the procedure of establishing the authorship of a certain work is guided by this principle. But if the contents of the work otherwise bring the question into dispute, then a thorough investigation into the whole question is required.

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1. The unique MS available in I.O. Lib. No. 1149. Ethe. cat. Per. MSS. p. 1377.

2. F.J. f.1b. L2.

3. F.J. f.1b. L12.

In medieval Muslim literature examples are not wanting, when an author of a lesser importance, motivated by the desire to give immortality to his work composed it in the name of a distinguished author.[1] The medieval Muslim mystic literature also testifies to the spurious character of certain works, compiled by men of lesser fame.[2] Many others instead of giving their works a fictitious name left them altogether anonymous.[3] Hence the mere mention of a name does not justify its uncritical acceptance, but necessitates a careful study into external and internal evidence.

At first sight Zia-ud-din Barni the well-known author of Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,[4] Nat-i-Mohammadi,[5] and Tarikh-i-Ale Barmak,[6] who flourished during the reign of Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq (A.D. 1325-1351), and is reported to have died during the reign

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1. For exanple Wasaya-i-Nizam ul-Mulk MS. Or. 256. B.M. vide Ethe Neupers Litt. in Vol. 11 of Grundriss, p. 348. Also see Brown Lt. Hist. of Per. Vol. 11. p.191, Camb. 1951.
2. See Medieval India Quarterly Vol.1.- Nos. 3 and 4 p. 106.
3. Ethe Cat. per MSS. MS. No. 941,MS No.2987. per.MSS Cat. R.A.S.
4. Cal Edi. 1862.
5. MS.Tarikh 127. Raza Lib. Rampur. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Rasid of Unvty. of Aligarh for sending me a copy of the MS.
6. Bombay Edi. 1889.

of his successor Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq (A.D. 1351-1388) cannot be the author of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, because the work appears to have been compiled in the Ghaznavide period of Turko-Persian history. The Earliest notice of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is found in the catalogue of the Oriental Library of Tippoo Sultan,[1] wherein it is definitely stated that Fatawa-i-Jahandari is a work dedicated to Mahmud of Ghaznin about the commencement of 11th century of the Christian era.[2] This shows that the cataloguer has paid no attention to the express mention of the author's Name as Zia-i-Barni, but regards it to be a composition of some anonymous author and written during the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin (A.D. 998-1030). He was probably influenced in deducing these conclusions by the following statement in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari:-

"And to-day thirty six years have passed since Sultan Mahmud is ruling and carrying on the administration according to these laws".[3]

So if the text is to be relied upon, the Fatawa-i-Jahandari was written in the thirty sixth year of Sultan Mahmud's reign. But this statement does not carry any historical weight, and seems prima facie absurd. No chronological calculations bring

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1. Edi. Stewart, Camb. 1809.
2. Stewart p. 52.
3. F.J.f. 158b. L.14.

the reign of Sultan Mahmud to thirty six years.[1] However this definite statement of the author suggesting the date and the time of its composition does remain in the text.

Other reasons which give the impression that Zia ud-din Barni, the famous historican of the Delhi Sultanate could not have been the author of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari are as follows:-

(a) The work rotates round the figure of Sultan Mahmud, and in fact the major part of the work is replete with the admonitions of Sultan Mahmud to his sons and the Muslim kings at large. Each Nasihat with occasional exceptions commences thus:-

"Sultan Mahmud says: 'O Sons and kings of Islam know, and know it well.......'[2] "

(b) Ghaznin has been described as the capital of the state (dar-ul-Mulk).[3] Khwaja Ahmad Hasan Maimandi, Ali Kheshawand and Abu Sahl Isfraini,[4] the nobles and officers of Sultan Mahmud have been cited with full exuberance, and no explicit reference

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1. Sultan Mahmud ruled from A.D. 997-1030- See Lane Poole Medieval India, London, 1903. Philip's Handbook of Oriental History London 1951, p. 87. which givves H.388-421 (A.D. 998-1030). It is not only the author of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari whose chronology is defective, but also the Futuh-us-Salatin p.59. At another place the author of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari states that Sultan Mahmud ruled for thirty eight years F.J.f. 165a. L.5.

2. F.J. Nasihat 2.f.6b. L.l. f.78a L.13, f. 90b, L.10.

3. F.J.f. 10a L12.

4. F.J.f. 138b. LL.12-13.

can be traced about Delhi (which Barni tells us in his other works was the pupil of its residents eyes).[1] No description of the contemporary Sultans of Delhi, or even that great mystic teacher, Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya, the spiritual guide of Barni, and to whom his works must offer due esteem, is even casually found.[2]

(c) The sources of evidence used in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari also belong to pre-Ghaznavide times.[3] While drawing upon the pre-Muslim Persian and Byzantine heroes, the author instead of quoting well-known authorities like the Shah Nama of Firdawsi,[4] the Sikandar Nama of Nizami,[5] and the famous Chahar Maqala,[6] which are a compendium of information on the subject, refers to works like 'Tarikh-i-Kisrawi', the 'Kalimat-i-Afridun', 'Wasaya-i-Jamshed', Tarikh-i-Sikandari', 'Tarikh-i-Umam-ul-Awwalin'[7] and so forth, which appear to be very much alive in

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1. T.F.S and N.M.

2. N.M. Int. and T.F.S. pp. 346 and 325.

3. See part 11 Translator's Intro., where these sources are discussed.

4. Cal. Edi. 1811.

5. Cal. Edi. 1852.

6. Edi. Qazwini G.M.S.

7. See Translator's notes at the end of translation, where an attempt has been made to find out if such books had ever been extant. The instance of Tarikh-i-Sanjari is the only exception, and this anecdote on Sanjar is a result of Barni's defective chronology. See note.

the traditions of posterity, but not extant. This suggests, that either the author compiled his work in Ghaznavide times before the above-mentioned extant works came into existance, or that he purposely avoided reference to any such source, which his 'eponymous' hero Sultan Mahmud could not possibly have known.

(d) Another factor, which strengthens the impression that the Fatawa-i-Jahandari was compiled during Ghaznavide times is the fact that the author never quotes any source of his information on Sultan Mahmud,[1] which he usually does in the case of any other king or historical or even mythical personage described in this work.[2] Indeed the impression which we derive from the author's way of expression is that he was either a 'courtier' of Sultan Mahmud, or else his most confidential officer, who possessed full knowledge of his affairs.[3]

But in spite of all these reasons, which appear to militate against Barni's authorship of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, there are in fact powerful reasons for concluding that he was the real author. The reasons are as follows:-

(a) Barni felt a wronged man towards the last few years

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1. For example F.J. ff. 161a, 171a, 220a.

2. For example F.J. ff. 13a, 36b, 154b.

3. For example F.J. ff. 10a, 11a, 69a, 81a and b.

of his life,[1] and the only ray of hope left in his life of utter gloom was the composition of a work through which he could convince the reigning sovereign Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq of his undoubted loyalty, and thus move him to grant pension for his maintenance in his declining age. Barni states in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi that after having undergone severe troubles and hardships, he was at last able to complete his matchless 'history', which he dedicated to the Sultan.[2] He was doubtless confident that this work would win the Sultan's favour, and remove all feelings of displeasure towards Barni.[3] However Barni found all his attempts to be futile.[4] His Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi was apparently ignored altogether by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. This disappointment, says Barni most poignantly, was indeed incalculable, and thus it appears that it must have obviously put an end to all his future hopes of dedicating his works to Sultan Firoz Shah.[5] In grief at the failure of his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, he exclaims in grave disappointment thus:-

"if the author (Barni) had written this history during the reign of Sultan Mahmud or Sultan Sanjar, (surely) the fame of this history, and that of the historian would have spread

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1. See Translator's Introduction 'Life of the Author'.

2. T.F.S. pp. 124-125.

3.& 4. T.F.S. p. 125.

5. T.F.S. p. 124.

throughout the length and breadth of the lands of Islam."[1]

Thus Barni having abandoned all hope in the munificence and patronage of Sultan Firoz Shah sought another path to immortality. By dedicating the work to Sultan Mahmud, and confining it to the glories of his character and services he rendered to the 'True Faith', Barni was convinced that his name would live for ever in the annals of history.[2] Moreover by pretending that the Fatawa-i-Jahandari was composed during the reign of Sultan Mahmud, he was at liberty to pass his judgment freely on the Sultans of Delhi without having to fear the reigning sovereign.[3] Barni by adopting this disguise has indeed been able to set down his experiences of the Delhi Sultans with remarkable freedom.

(b) If the contents of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari are studied in the light of Barni's, all the three other existing works viz the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, the Nat-i-Mohammadi and the Tarikh-i-Ale Baramka, a careful reader finds not only a similarity of ideas, but of language and style at the same time.

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1. T.F.S. p. 124.

2. The works of a man who had fallen from the royal grace would certainly not appeal to the general sentiments, whereas a work compiled by a 'courtier' of Sultan Mahmud, the hero of the mass of Sunni Muslims, was sure to be highly patronised.

3. In T.F.S. Barni shows full appreciation of the character and policy of Sultan Firoz Shah, since this work was produced particularly for him, whereas in F.J. a very clear attack on this Sultan is found. f. 203a and b.

The voluminous use of Hindu words in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari viz. saha, mehta, rai, rana, pandit, rawat, birshikal, bugni, dhol, khut, mandi[1] and so forth explains that the Ghaznavide was not accustomed to the use of such a massive Hindi vocabulary. Neither the Tarikh-i-Yamini of Utbi,[2] nor the Tarikh-i-Ale Subuktigin of Baihaqi,[3] nor the Zain-ul-Akhbar of Gardizi,[4] and nor the compositions of the poets of the Ghaznavide Sultans contains such a happy agglomeration of Persian and Hindi words.[5] At that period the assimilation of Hindu Muslim culture had only started in some parts of the Northern Indian peninsular, but the influences were surely not so full-fledged as are observed in the writings of Barni and his friend Amir Khusrau of Delhi.[6]

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1. For example compare F.J. ff. 119b, 131a, 120a, and b. with T.F.S. pp. 287, 552, 344.

2. Edi. Lahore 1883.

3. B.I. Cal. 1861-1862.

4. MS. Camb. Edi. Nazim Camb. 1928.

5. In Abu Raihan Alberuni's writings the use of Rai, Rana, and Rawat, are noticeable, but that should be treated due to his close association with the Hindu scholars, and not a result of a long drawn cultural process at work between the Hindus and the Muslims as in Barni's times.

6. See Habib "Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi". Bombay 1928 and Wahid Mirza "Life and Works of Amir Khusrau".

Moreover it is possible to prove on other grounds, that the Fatawa-i-Jahandari could not have been written during Ghaznavide times. The author speaks of the conversation of Mongols and the Hindu slaves to Islam and the lack of loyalty to salt in them in spite of their age long associations with Mussalmans.[1] This conclusion could not have been drawn by an author of the Ghaznavide period, but only by a writer of the early Sultanate period of Indo-Muslim history. Apart from these references, though the author wilfully avoids all references to the city of Delhi, yet his pen-picture of Muslim capitals is fully illustrative of the life and conditions at Delhi.[2] The description of Delhi, Barni gives in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi is line by line the same as that which is found in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari of Muslim capitals.[3] The exuberance of life in Delhi, both in the intellectual as well as the social fields, for example the presence of erudite scholars and mystic teachers, the existence of taverns, sodomites, male prostitutes, astrologers and so forth in large numbers is namelessly portrayed in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.[4] The author speaks of the enforcement

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1. F.J.f. 72a.

2. 3 and 4 For example compare F.J.ff.8a and b. with T.F.S. pp. 291, 352-375.

3. F.J. f. 110a.

of the prohibition scheme in the "metropolis" of the state, but this description cannot refer to Ghaznin, where wine flowed freely, and where the author of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari informs us, Sultan Mahmud himself drank openly. Delhi was the only Muslim capital where prohibition was ordered by Sultan Ala ud-din Khiji (A.D. 1296-1316).[1]

(c) The principal argument for believing that the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is a product of Barni's versatile genius is that the principles enunciated in this work are a development of the ideas found in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi in particular and in his Nat-i-Muhammadi and Tarikh-i-Ale Baramka also to a certain extent. It is well-known that Barni condemns all the Sultans of Delhi from Ghiyas ud-din Balban (A.D. 1266-1286) to Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq with the exception of Sultan Ghiyas ud-din Tughlaq (A.D. 1320-1325), and the sovereign to whom he dedicated his Tarikh. Now what seems a dreary round of negative critism in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi is developed in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari into a somewhat harmonious system of thought. A few comparisons will illustrate the argument.

Sultan Balban is condemned by Barni as extremely harsh in disposition, who resorts to poison and assissination of Muslims.[2]

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1. T.F.S. pp. 284 - 286.

2. T.F.S. p. 65 and pp. 92-94. Compare F.J.f. 152b.

Throughout the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, the author has admonished his 'Ideal Ruler' to refrain from shedding even a single drop of a 'Believer's' blood, for the punishments for this offence will be beyond compute in the next world.

Sultan Muiz ud-din Kaiqubad (A.D. 1286-1390), the grandson of Sultan Balban has been criticised for his extreme indulgence in frivolity and love for the 'moon-faced'. Again in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari the author has impressed upon his 'Ideal sultan' the grave dangers which pursuance of sensuous pleasure leads to.[1] Barni in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi does not commend the mildness of Sultan Jalal ud-din Khilji (A.D. 1290-1296) In the Fatawa-i-Jahandari the author's constant admonitions to his 'Ideal Sultan' are that he should be extremely particular about his majesty and dignity and be strict in his dealings, otherwise the distinction between the 'ruler' and the 'ruled' (Amir wa Mamur) will vanish.[2]

Barni shows grudging respect for Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji for his economic regulations, but could not tolerate the emperor's utter disregard of the qazis and the Ulemas,[3] and above all his aptitude for secularism. In the Fatawa-i-Jahandari the author's 'Ideal Sultan' must look to the

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1. Compare T.F.S. pp. 129-30 with F.J. Nasihat "On the Recognition of the Value of His Time By the King"

2. Compare T.F.S. pp. 188-189 with F.J. ff. 168a - 169a.

3. Compare T.F.S. Chapters on Ala Ud-din especially pp. 289-292 and pp. 304-319 with F.J.ff 121a-122b and the Nasihat 'On the Cheapness of the Means of Livlihood' f. 90b. Also compare T.F.S. pp. 334-336 and pp. 338-41 with F.J.f. 14a.

stabilisation of the prices of commodities, which affect the needs of the army and the livelihood of the public. At the same time he must pay due reverence to the suggestions and the counsel of the religious scholars and the pious saints, whom the author designates as 'Ulama-i-dunya' wa 'Ulema-i-Akhirat'.

About Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq, Barni has much to say in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. This monarch ignores the claims of birth, while conferring government offices, and instead judges a person by his efficiency of work.[1] This king awards 'offices' and 'grants' to non Muslims, who are the bitterest enemies of the Islamic creed. He does not pay regard to the counsel of his loyal well-wishers (even Barni's own most loyal counsels)[2]. He upholds the Greek philosophy in esteem, which questions the dogmas of Orthodox Islam.[3] The author of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari warns his 'Ideal Sultan' to guard against these evils which turn realms upside down.[4]

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1. T.F.S. pp. 503-507 compare with F.J. Nasihat 'On the Disadvantages of Appointment of the Low-Born to High Offices'
2. Compare T.F.S. pp. 462-463 with F.J. Nasihat 'On the Blessings of Consultation'.
3. T.F.S. pp. 465-466.
4. F.J. ff. 10b - 11b.

The planning of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari also illustrates that all the weaknesses and loopholes of the Sultanate of Delhi during the oeriod covered by Barni's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi (A.D. 1266-1357), and as conceived by Barni, have formed the subject matter of this work. The first four Nasaih of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari reflect that an 'Ideal Sultan' must guard against these evils of character which surrounded the person of Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq. The Nasihat 'On the Cheapness of Commodoties' is a clear reminiscence of Sultan Ala ud-din's economic regulations. If the passages from the two respective works are compared, then a close similarity not only of content, but of vocabulary will also be observed. The Nasihat on 'The King's Forgiveness and Punishment'[1] appears to have been inspired by the author's opinion of the disastrous effects of the severe punishments inflicted by Sultan Balban and Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq and the mildness of Sultan Jal ud-din Khilji. The Nasihat 'On the Advantages of a Well-Filled Treasury', and the 'Appointment of Barids' are clearly inspired by the advantages Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji enjoyed from the collection of spoils, and the loss suffered by Sultan Mohammad b Tughlaq from dissipating his treasures, and the benefits the Sultans of Delhi obtained by the appointment of barids (Royal intelligencers)[2].

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1. F.J.f. 140a.
2. F.J. ff. 78a and 81a.

The Nasihat 'On the Contradictory Qualities of the King' again is based on the author's sour experience of Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq's opposite qualities of character.[1] The Nasihat "On the Evils of Appointing Men of Low Birth to High Government Offices" only develops the refrain that runs through the whole of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. The Nasihat "That No One should enjoy Ascendancy over the King" is clearly the author's protest against Khusrau Khan's disdainful influence on the Sultan Qutb ud-din Mubarak Khilji (A.D. 1316-1320), and the wickedness of Khusrau Khan's regime.[2]

In the Nasihat on the 'Remedies for the Diseases of Kingdoms' in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari the author's advice to buy off a dangerous enemy is clearly reminiscent of the counsel given by Ala-ul-Mulk, the kotwal of Delhi to Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji on the eve of the battle of Kili; while the author's further advice, that a ruler ought to fight manfully and regardless of consequences when in the last ditch, is simply a repetition of Sultan Ala ud-din's reply to the kotwal.[3] Similarly Barni's recommendation in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari,

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1. Compare T.F.S. Chapters relating the personal qualities of Mohd Tughlaq with F.J. Nasihat f. 193a.

2. T.F.S. pp. 390-398. Compare F.J. Nasihat ff. 213b-216a.

3. T.F.S. pp. 257-259 compare F.J. Nasihat 'On the Remedies For the Diseases of the Kingdom' f. 178b.

that an unpopular ruler ought to abdicate is again a repetition of the advice, he rendered (as he leads us to believe) to Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq, though in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari the author goes a step further by advising such an unpopular ruler to commit suicide, when matters have gone to such an extent, that even his resignation from the throne does not pacify the minds of his subjects.[1] Certainly Barni could not have possibly dared to suggest suicide in plain words to his patron Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq.

Hence the comparison of the two works - the Fatawa-i-Jahandari and the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi proves their common authorship. Despite the different fields of the two works - the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi being a book on history and the Fatawa-i- Jahandari planned by the author as a manual of politico-ethical rules of conduct for the guidance of Muslim kings, their thought, style and vocabulary bear a close similarity.

This similarity of vocabulary and content is found in the two other works of Barni as well. Though the Nat-i-Mohammadi as its very title indicates is a work, which deals with the virtues, miracles, ascension and likewise details of prophet Mohammad's life,[2] yet in the Introduction of this work Barni

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1. F.J.f. 180a.

2. See Med. Ind. Quarterly 1954 p. 101.

gives expression to certain ideals - Islam is the best religion; Hindus are the worst enemies of Islam, and secular learning is to be totally erased from the surface of the earth, connect it with the fundamental doctrines of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.[1] The free use of uncharitable language in the condemnation of Hindus, the non Sunni Muslims and the heretics is common to both works.[2]

In Barni's Tarikh-i-Ale Baramka which he claims to be a persian translation of the original history of the Barmacides in Arabic, no original statements of Barni with the exception of the Introduction and the epilogue can be expected.[3] In his Introduction to the Tarikh-i-Ale Baramka, Barni explains the reasons, which were responsible for his undertaking the task of this translation. He maintained a deep respect for the family of the Barmacides firstly because they were proverbial for their high birth, and secondly because they were endowed with a munificent character. In the Fatawa-i-Jahandari the author expresses great respect for high birth as an accepted principle of ancient and medieval statecraft and hence the

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1. See Part 11 of Intr. where the political doctrines of F.J. have been discussed.

2. N.M. ff. 390-392 compare F.J. ff. 118a-119b.

3. T.A.B. Bombay 1889 see Barni's Intro. where he states the reasons inducing him to translate this work.

Barmacide family finds a special mention in the work.[1]

Although as we have seen already that with the exception of the first folio of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari where the name of Zia ud-din Barni occurs twice, the author normally refrains from making any personal allusions yet in the epilogue there are very vivid references to the author's life of want and economic destitution.[2] If these references are compared with similar references of Barni in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi and Nat-i-Mohammadi where Barni refers to himself as extremely helpless, perplexed and frustrated, then again a deep resemblance will be observed.[3] Whether it is the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, or the Nat-i-Mohammadi, or the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, or just a translation like the Tarikh-i-Ale Baramka, Barni always proclaims his superiority over his predecessors.

Hence the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is the expression of the same versatile mind which produced works like the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, the Nat-i-Mohammadi and the Tarikh-i-Ale Baramka, which have survived, and several others, which appear to have perished.[5] But why Barni deliberately preferred to choose

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1. See F.J. Nasihat "On the Qualities of the Helpers and the supporters of the State".
2. F.J.f. 246.
3. T.F.S. pp. 165-66. N.M. Intro.
4. F.J. f. 246 T.F.S. pp. 123-125. N.M. Intro.
5. Vide Siyar-ul-Auliya Delhi Edi. pp. 312-313.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin as his 'eponymous' hero and spokesman, we have partly discussed above, and shall be touching again in the course of a later survey of the form and contents of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.

Section B.

Life of the Author in relation to his Thought.

Since this is the first attempt to examine and analyse critically the Fatawa-i-Jahandari of Zia Ud-din Barni, which occupies a position of major importance in the literature on 'Government' of the medieval period of the Indo Muslim history, so before undertaking the actual analysis of the work, two reasons necessitate a prior investigation into his life, and the social, economic and political spirit of the age in which Barni flourished. Firstly it is a commonly accepted fact that the mind of no author is fully and truly intelligible in relation to the circumstances of his own personal life, and the atmosphere around him. The second and more important reason which makes it necessary for all readers of Barni's works to know his biography, is that his works are closely related to his personal frustrations and a priori prejudices.[1] All the available works of Barni viz the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, the Nat-i-Mohammadi and the Tarikh-i-Ale Baramka were compiled by him during that grim period of his life when on the accession of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq to the throne of Delhi in 625 H

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1. In Sec. (a) of the Intro. we have already observed the acute relationship of Barni's personal factors of life with the curious form of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.

(A.D. 1351), he fell from the royal grace and spent the remaining few years of his life in extreme penury and utter indigence. Hence a critical reader of Barni must guard against the uncritical acceptance of Barni's statements and judgment on history on persons and on policies.

A. comparison of Barni with the other principal historians and writers on 'Government' in the pre Moghul period e.g. Minhaj-us-Siraj Juzjani, the author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,[1] Khwaja Hasan Nizami, the author of the Taj-ul-Ma'asir,[2] Khwaja Amir Khusrau the author of a number of works on different social and political subjects,[3] Maulana Isami, the author of the Futuh-Us-Salatin,[4] Shams Siraj Afif, the author of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,[5] Yahya Sirhindi, the author of the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,[6] Sharif Mohammad Mubarak Shah commonly called Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, the author of the Adab-ul-Harb wa-Shuja'at,[7] and Ali Shihab

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1. Cal Edi. 1864.

2. MS. Add. 7623. Rieu p. 239.

3. See 'Life and Works of Amir Khusrau' by Wahid Mirza.

4. Edi. A.M. Husain Agra 1928, M. Usha Mad. 1950.

5. Bib Ind. Edi. 1891.

6. Translated by Basu, Baroda 1932.

7. MS. B.M. Add 16853, R.A.S. Bengal 1608, I.O. 647.

Hamadani, the author of the Zakhirat-ul-Muluk,[1] will reveal that none of them had befallen the same tragic fate towards the evening of their lives as that which overcame Barni. Moreover none of these writers undertook Barni's self-imposed task first of pleading innocence and destitution before the reigning sovereign and the educated ruling classes with a view to obtaining a pension, and second of offering his works to God as an 'atonement for sin', and as a 'shield for his salvation', and as a reason for 'divine forgiveness'.[2]

Such being the prime motive of Barni behind the composition of his works, it will certainly be unadvisable to resort to the use of the method of writing history from 'authorities'. This method according to Professor Collingwood emphasises two essential things in History - memory and authority.[3] It would be very dangerous for historians to accept any of Barni's statements as they stand without relating them to his own life, theories and inherent bias. Hence my chief aim in collecting the details of his life lies in establishing the relationship between them and his political ideas and his bias as a historian.

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1. MS No. 1130. I.O. B.M. MS No. Add 7618.

2. N.M. Intor. Also see N. Hasan's Art on 'N.M.', Med.Ind.Qua. Vol. 1 Nos. 3 and 4 p. 100.
   Vide T.F.S. pp. 124-125 F.J. ff. 24.

3. Collingwood 'Idea of History' p. 234-235.
   Also see Peter Hardy 'Treatment of History by Medieval Muslim Historians', thesis, 1953, p.10.

The major difficulty which confronts a biographer of Barni is the paucity of evidence. However though the information might be thin and scanty, yet it does not prevent us from stating certain relevant biographical facts, which provide a criterion for evaluating his works. There are two categories of evidence available on Barni's life-history viz. the biographical and the autobiographical.

In the first category the Siyar-ul-Auliya of Sayyid Mohammad MubaraK-Al- Alavi Al Kirmani generally known as Amir Khurd occupies a position of first rate importance. Amir Khurd was a great adherent of Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya, an outstanding Chishti mystic of his times and in Siyar-ul-Auliya Amir Khurd has brought together the biographical details of the Khwajas of Chist with special attention focussed on his favourite 'Pier' Sheikh Nizam ud-din, his disciples and adherents. Barni has been noticed by Amir Khurd in the capacity of a well-known disciple of the great Sheikh, and hence it can be said that in this work Barni has been treated from the viewpoint of a devotee by a fellow devotee.[1] However this onesided sidelight on Barni does prove to be of immense value, since

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1. Del. Edi. p. 312-13.

it is the only first hand independent source of information.[1]

Shams Siraj Afif in his Tarikh-i-Shahi written in early 15th century throws some light on Barni, but from his account no valuable in fact no biographical information can be extracted, since this author appears to have been interested in Barni as the author of the 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi' in continuation of which he planned his 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi'. The Valuable information this work supplies about Barni lies in procuring to us the information that after Barni's death his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi obtained access to Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq who showed his appreciation for the work and desired its continuation.[2]

Certain later mystic works e.g. the Akhbar-ul-Akhyar[3] of Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlvi written towards the latter part of the 16th century, the Matlub-ut-Talibin[4] of Mohammad Bulaq written in 17th century, and the Sawati-ul-Anwar[5] of Albarasawi written in A.D. 1729 give petty details of Barni's

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1. Amir Khurd was a junior contemporary of Barni and appears to have compiled this work soon after Barni's death. He frequently speaks of Firoz Shah as the reigning sovereign. See Rieu cat. Per. MSS B.M. p. 976.

2. T.F.S. Afif p. 177.

3. MS No. 640 I.O. f. 45b.

4. MS. No. 1450 I.O. f. 97a.

5. MS. No. 90. I.O. f. 119a.

life and family conditions, but a careful perusal of these works indicates that all these works are uncritical copies of the Siyar-ul-Auliya, and of each other. Other than this biographical literature, there does not appear to be any other biographical source material on Barni.[1]

The autobiographical references in Barni's own works reveal that his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi forms the chief source of such information. These casual, scanty and unconnected statements assist us in drawing a coherent picture of his life. The Fatawa-i-Jahandari is not very illuminating on this point except for the author's epilogue, wherein he gives expression to his utter frustration and extreme helplessness during the last few years of his life.[2] His third work the Nat-i-Mohammadi like the Fatawa-i-Jahandari refers only to the author's indigence and mental anguish towards the evening of his life.[3] The Tarikh-i-Ale Baramaka contains no biographical references except that Barni was a well-wisher of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq and that he dedicated this work to him.[4]

Many modern scholars and historians of medieval India have

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1. In this list the Riyaz-ul-Auliya should also be included MS or 1745 B.M.

2. F.J. f. 246a.

3. N.M. Intro.

4. Bomb. Edi. p.5 where Barni is full of commendation for the Sultan's munificence and liberality.

already accumulated sundry details of Barni's life history, but none of them, for example Syed Hasan Barni,[1] Professor Rashid,[2] Dr. Moin-ul-Haq,[3] Dr. Mehdi Husain,[4] and Dr. Aleem[5] have focussed their attention on the last few years of Barni's life, which as stated previously above explain his a priori prejudices resulting in a biased presentation of historical personages and events.

Birth and Lineage:-

Barni as his very nisba suggests must have been born in Baran, identified with modern Bulandshahr in the province of Uttar Pradesh. Archeological discoveries conclusively prove the existance of this place since the time of Buddhism. Early medeival Muslim historians like Abu Raihan Alberuni in his Tarikh-i-Hind,[6] Utbi in his Tarikh-i-Yamini and Minhaj-us-Siraj in his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri also refer to the existence of Baran.

Neither the Siyar-ul-Auliya nor any of Barni's works state his date of birth. But from Barni's casual references in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi about his age when he brought this work to

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1. Art on Barni (Eng. trans.) Islamic culture. Jan 1938 p.76.

2. 'A study of Barni', Muslim Unvty. Press Aligarh.

3. Trans. T.F.S. On Tughlaqs, thesis Aligarh 1944. I am indebted to Dr. Haq for providing me with a copy of this thesis.

4. Mohammad Shah b. Tughlaq Urdu ver. Allah 1938.

5. Social and Political conditions during the Khiljis in North India. Thesis London 1952.

6. Trans. by Sachua Edi. Lon. 1888.

a successful conclusion, it can be placed by about 684 H (A.D. 1285). Barni states that he was seventy-four years of age when he compiled this work.[1] At another place he refers that whatever he had observed during the first six years of Sultan Firoz Shah's reign, he described it in eleven chapters of the Tarikh-i-Shahi.[2] The Manuscript copy of the Nat-i-Mohammadi mentions 683 H. as Barni's date of birth. But since this date is not in author's own handwriting it could be possible that the copyist laid it down on the basis of his own calculations. Neither Barni's arithmetical calculations nor those of the medieval Muslim copyists appear very accurate and convincing, so they must not be accepted as ipso facto true.[3]

Barni takes great pride in his noble descent and respectable lineage. He quotes his geneology of the last three generations. His maternal great grandfather Malik Hisam-ul-Mulk first wielded the post of <u>Wakildar</u>[4] under Sultan Balban, and later he was awarded the post of <u>Shehna</u> of Lakhnanti.[5] His maternal grand-father Sayyid Jalal ud-din of Kaithal ranked among the

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1. T.F.S. p. 573.
2. T.F.S. p. 602.
3. See translators Intro. Part 11. Sec. d.
4. T.F.S. p. 41.
5. Ibid p. 87.

foremost Sayyids of the place. His grandmother, he tells us, was a lady of profound scholarship and spiritual insight.[1]

Barni always refers to his father as Muyyad-ul-Mulk, which appears more of a title rather than a name. "The father of this old man, says Barni was a respectable old soul".[2] He was appointed the Amil of Baran by Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji on his accession to the throne of Delhi.[3] Before this Muyyad-ul-Mulk acted as a 'naib' to prince Arkali Khan, the eldest son of Jalal ud-din Khilji,[4] and had built a palatial residence in 'Kiloghari', the new capital of the Turkish Empire in India.[5]

Compared to the relations referred to above greater attention has been devoted by Barni to his paternal uncle Ala-ul-Mulk perhaps because he occupied a much higher post and dignity under the Imperial Government than his other relatives. Barni quotes a conversation of Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji, wherein the Sultan refers to Ala-ul-Mulk as a wazir and a wazirzada, who had throughout been loyal to him. The Sultan expressed his regret

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1. Ibid p. 350.
2. T.F.S. p. 350.
3. Ibid p. 248.
4. Ibid p. 209.
5. Ibid p. 248.

for abstaining from conferring the office of Wizarat on him merely because of Ala-ul Mulk's unmanageable corpulence and obesity, and simply contented on appointing him the kotwal of the Dar-ul-Mulk.[1] The Sultan's extreme trust in the loyalty of his most esteemed counsellor is indicated by his appointment of Ala-ul-Mulk as a custodian of his royal treasury and the protector of his 'harem' during the Sultan's camapigns of Kili.[2]

Barni throughout his four works gives expression to this extreme consciousness of his high and noble birth, and his ancestors having been the loyal and confidential servants of the contemporary Sultans of Delhi. That birth and pedigree alone determine the highest in man will be found the motive force through which his social and political philosophy rotate.

Education;-

Details are much wanting about Barni's education. As his father was employed in the Imperial service and possessed a residence in the Imperial capital, so it can be assumed that his family had shifted from Baran to Delhi when Barni was just a young boy. This fact is confirmed by the author's own positive statement referring to the charm and luxury of Sultan Muiz ud-din

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1. Ibid p. 258.

2. T.F.S. p. 255.

Kaiqubad's convivial parties, which he happened to watch personally at the capital.[1]

About his education Barni states that it was during the reign of Sultan Jalal ud-din Khilji that he finished reading 'Quran' and started learning the elementary alphabet and writing.[2] His teachers were talented men of erudite scholarship.[3] In his Tarikh-i-Shahi, Barni mentions the names of some forty six scholars under some of whom he sat as a pupil, and others he enjoyed the opportunity of meeting in lectures and assemblies.

Barni does not appear to be exaggerating about the presence of well-known scholars in Delhi during the period when he acquired his education. Indeed the whole of the Khilji reign was the most brilliant period of pre-Moghul Indo Muslim history particularly in the field of literary activity. The reason for this literary efflorescence which affected Barni's own development as a writer is not far to seek. The Mongal invasions of the East were a constant menace to the Muslim world. In A.D. 1258 with the extinction of the Abbaside Caliphate and the Mongol capture of Baghdad, the dar-ul-Khilafat and the sole bond of unity among the Muslim monarchies of the East, the foundations

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1. Ibid p. 164.

2. Ibid p. 205.

3. Ibid p. 127.

of Islamic countries were utterly shaken. A culture and a civilisation of last six centuries underwent an utter destruction. The empire of Delhi was one of the very few Muslim states which escaped this wholesale destruction. In fact it appears almost indisputable that with the Mongol occupation of other areas of the Islamic civilisation, the empire of Delhi gained culturally. The cream of Muslim scholars from central Asia sought refuge in northern India and contributed munificently to the literary wealth of the land.

Hence Barni's statement that during the reign of Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji scholars and talented men of such profound learning and calibre lived in Delhi, whose counterparts were not to be traced either in Bokhara,,or Samarqand, or Baghdad, or Egypt, or Khwarazm or Damascus or Tabrez, or Isfahan, or Rae, or Byzantium or any other part of the inhabited world[1] is true as may be seen from the works of Amir Khusrau and from mystic literature of the period. These scholars were well-versed both in the sciences of Tradition (منقولات) and of secular learning (معقولات). Now what we are concerned here is to point out that although as Barni claims that he sat as a pupil under these scholars, yet his writings show that his education was limited to one field of knowledge viz Tafsir, Hadis, Fiqh, Mysticism

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1. T.F.S. pp. 352-4.

and History - history not as a record of all past events and movements and their causes and inter-relations, but a record of caliphs and high officers of government.[1] Barni's writings express a great condemnation for philosophy and rational thinking because these sciences repudiate an unquestioned faith in the 'True Religion', and hence they deserve to be condemned outright.[2] In brief Barni's education as revealed through his treatment of history and political theory was predominantly religious, and thus it prevented him from examining the human society and human institutions from a scientific standpoint. He was a true replica of a medieval orthodox Sunni and allowed no concessions for the non Sunnite learning and thought.[3]

Barni in the Khangah of Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya:-

Neither the Siyar-ul-Auliya nor Barni himself furnish much information about his activities in youth. The Siyar-ul-Auliya however states that Barni through the influence of his father had become a disciple of Sultan-ul-Mashaikh (Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya) from a very early age and had settled down in Ghiyaspur,[4] where the Sheikh had built his Khangah. This statement might lead us to conclude that Barni led the

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1. Ibid pp. 9-10 vide F.J. f. 10b.
2. F.J. ff. 11a and b.
3. F.J. ff. 9a and b.
4. Siyar-ul-Auliya pp. 312-13.

life of a disciple and spent the best part of his life as a disciple of the mystics. Our chief interest in examining this phase of Barni's life lies in showing as to how far his writings are influenced by mystic outlook upon life. Syed Hasan Barni, the earliest modern biographer of Barni seems to have been carried away partly by Barni's own statements and partly by those of Siyar-ul-Auliya which state Barni's close and long association with the mystics. He remarks "Mysticism became inherent in his (Barni's) nature."[1] In order to remove such a grave misconception about Barni's outlook upon life it seems advisable to examine briefly the philosophy of life of the Indo Muslim mystics of Barni's times, so that the difference may be noted.

During the pre-Moghul period of Indo Muslim history the two chief mystic Silsilahs, which flourished in northern India were the Chishtiya and the Suhrwardiya orders. Of the two, the Chishtiya Silsilah was foremost in and around the capital Delhi whereas the Suhrwardiya order was strong in Multan and its neighbourhood. Since Barni was an adherent of the Chishtiya Silsilah, we need only discuss this. A word might be said in passing about the rise of mysticism in the Muslim world.

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1. Isl. Cul. Jan. 1938 p. 81.

The first Muslim group of mystics in Islamic history appeared in Iraq during the Umayyad period chiefly in the cantonment towns of Kufa and Basra, and Professor Nicholson gives them the designation of 'Quietists'. The 'Quietists' says Professor Habib were men of deep religious feeling and being rather conscious mystic theorists, they belonged mostly to conquered communities.[1] But what were the forces which led to the rise of this school of thought in Islam? Professor Habib supplies a very illuminating answer to this question. He remarks, "It was inevitable that as in other religions, there should grow up a school of the inner spirit pitted aginst the school of formal theology and external law. But in Islam alone did this school of mystics or Sufis reach a development that enabled it to challenge the power of the formal orexternalist theologians and to inspire the life and the literature of the people for centuries.[2]

Such being the origin of mysticism in Islam the Chishtiya Silsilah penetrated into northern India from Chisht as early as the thirteenth century and found such a deep ground that among their disciples these mystics could count Muslims, non Muslims, Maliks, non Maliks, the higher aristocracy and the men of the lowest strata of Society. A single instance will illustrate this point.

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1 and 2. Int. to the revised Edi. of Elliott and Dawson "History of India as Told By Its Own Historians" Vol. 11 p.29 Alig. Edi. 1952.

"Khwaja Muin ud-din Chishti visited Delhi and asked his disciple Khwaja Qutb ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki to leave Delhi and accompany him to Ajmer. The people of Delhi and Sultan Iltutimsh followed them for miles crying and weeping. Wherever the saints placed their feet the earth was immediately dug reverently and kept as keep-sake. The Khwaja reconsidered his decision and permitted Qutb Saheb to remain behind at Delhi".[1]

The mystic annals are replete with illustrations which testify to the high respect and devotion which Chishtiya mystics commanded the 13th and the 14th centuries in northern India.[2] The underlying reasons for such devotion to the Sufi and his mystic cult are traced in the mystic thought and practice. To a Chishtiya mystic the summum bonum of his life was 'cosmic emotion'. Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya for instance appears to have stated in his letter to Maulana Fakhr ud-din Zarradi: "The highest purpose and the supreme aim of creating mankind is the 'love of God'; hence it is incumbent upon everyone to free his heart from everything except God, and devote himself exclusively to Him.[3]

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1. Siyar-ul-Auliya pp. 54-55.

2. Fawaid-ul-Fuwad p. 145.

3. Siyar-ul-Auliya Lahore Edi. p. 413-14.

The Fawaid-ul-Fuwad of Amir Hasan Sijzi, who was a foremost disciple of Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya enlightens us further on this point:

"That alone is life, which is spent by a darwesh in meditation".[1] Sheikh Nasir ud-din Chiragh, the spiritual successor of Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya says in his Miftah-ul-Ashiqin:

"Every breath which comes out and which passes, if it is not spent by the devotee in the remembrance of the Absolute (Haq) it amounts to his death. That alone is life, which is spent in the meditation of the Absolute".[2]

The mystic was confronted with the difficulty of how to attain this communion with the 'Infinate' and the 'Eternal' casting aside all distinction between 'I' and not 'I'. This cherised ideal of 'Gnosis' (Ma'arifat) and 'Union' (wasl) could only be achieved through one essential thing - concentration of heart (حضور قلب). Sheikh Nasir ud-din Chiragh quoted to his disciples a tradition of Prophet Mohammad emphasising the training of heart as an indispensable requisite for spiritual progress.[3] Prayers, vigils, penitence

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1. (حیات آن است که درویش بذکر حق مشغول باشد) Fawaid-ul-Fuwad p.20.

2. p.9.

3. Khair-ul-Majalis by Hamid Qalandar, which is a compendium of the conversations of Sheikh Nasir ud-din Chiragh. MS Conversation 13, 14, 97.

and fasts were no doubt sacred with a Chishtiya mystic, but the foremost of all requirements was the training of the heart( ). For example Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar warned Sheikh Nizam ud-din-Auliya against two things which were impediments in the path of God - abstention from the prohibited food ( ) and the assembly of kings.[1]

When Sayyidi Maula solicited Baba Farid's permission to depart for Delhi, the Sheikh admonished him very clearly:

> "Bear in mind this advice of mine. Do not associate with kings and amirs. Treat their visits to your houses as a danger. Every mystic who opens the door of association with kings and amirs, his end is doomed".[2]

Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya boldly refused to grant an interview to Sultan Jalal Ud-din Khilji and his nephew Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji. When Sultan Ala ud-din persisted the Sheikh's daring reply was:

> "My house has two doors. If the Sultan enters through one, I will quit from the other".[3]

The same curt reply was given by the Sheikh to Sultan Qutb ud-din Mubarak Khilji:

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1. Rahat-ul-Qulub. This work is a compilation of the conversations of Sheikh Baba Farid by his eminent disciple Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya.

2. T.F.S. p. 207.

3. Siyar-ul-Auliya Lahore Edi. p. 120.

"I am a man of retiring temperament and do not go anywhere. Besides it was not the tradition of my spiritual guides to be the companions of kings. Hence I ought to be excused".[1]

The same spirit of indifference was displayed by the Chishtiya mystics of Barni's times as far as the acceptance of royal offices, faqirs and endowments were concerned. Contemporary mystic's table-talk reflects very clearly the Sufi attitude of disdain towards the authorities in power. Two instances will further illustrate this point. Sultan Balban during his period of regency under Sultan Nasir ud-din Mahmud (A.D. 1246-1266), asigned four villages to Sheikh Farid ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar, who refused to accept the gift saying:

"I do not want to be known as a darwesh possessing villages".[2] Similarly when Sultan ud-din Khilji conferred some villages and garden property upon Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya, he shrugged his shoulders from accepting the royal offer:

"None of our Khwajas and Sheikhs have accepted such things."[3]

In brief, the Sufis of the Chishtiya order with whom Barni was attached looked upon government of the contemporary kings as something venomous forthe development of an unfettered and

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1. Siyar-ul-Arifin by Darwesh Jamali MS f. 78 printed Rizvi Press Delhi.

2. Rahat-ul-Qulub MS 35 (a).

3. Fawaid-ul-Fuwad p. 215.

independent personality. To them Islam stood for something nobler and higher rather than the establishment of empires and the perpetuation of animosity between man and man. The 'Sultanat' of the Turkish rulers of Delhi sounded un-Islamic to them; hence they turned their backs towards the state, and far from the mud and mire, din and bustle of court intrigues, they devoted themselves exclusively to the contemplation of God, and leading a life of mystic poverty and unwordliness.

Barni spent most of his life as a disciple of Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya famous for his attitude of complete indifference towards the Sultans of his times. How far this feeling of repugnance for the company of kings and a life of pomp and glory is expressed in the writings of Barni will be brought to light later when we discuss Barni's social and political philosophy. This discussion will reveal that Barni had been little influenced by the mystics in this respect. In spite of his long association and devotion for the Chishtiya Silsilah, he did not abide by its rudimentary principles. Hence it will be a grave error to allot to him a position of a faithful disciple of Sheikh Nizam ud-din.

Barni As a Courtier:-

Barni's writings are deeply influenced by this phase of his life. Both the biographical and autobiographical evidences expressly show that Barni served as a courtier of Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq for a period of seventeen years and three

months.[1] This post was held by him until the accession of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq in A.D. 1351. This period of Barni's life was one of great ease and comfort. He appears to have discharged the task of courtiership very efficiently. The requisite qualities of a medieval Muslim courtier were possessed by him in full.[2] He possessed a very witty temperament; he was a treasure-house of stories and anecdotes and capable of giving advice to theking when the occasion arose. That this life fully suited Barni is evident from his writings. In fact it was this life to which he aspired to return again during the evening of his life and planned his works as a means through which he could possibly achieve this aim.

Barni in Exile;-

Barni compiled all his works during this short period of his miserable life,[3] and hence this need be studied more minutely. Neither Barni nor the Siyar-ul-Auliya clearly state the reasons why Barni was dismissed from the post of nadim by Sultan Firuz

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1. Siyar-ul-Auliya p. 313.
   Also see T.F.S. p. 504.

2. Comp. Siyar-ul-Auliya's version of Barni's personal qualities with the requisite qualities of a royal nadim as stated in Siyaset Nama, Allah Edi. 1931 pp. 81-83, and Qabus Nama MS No. 79. I.O. F. 141a-143b.

3. Siyar-ul-Auliya p. 313.

Shah Tughlaq. In fact the author of the Siyar-ul-Auliya tries to gloss over Barni's dismissal to which Barni hints quite clearly. According to the Siyar-ul-Auliya Barni sought retirement from the court of Sultan Firoz Shah when he was a little over seventy with request for the bare means of livelihood, and adopted a secluded life during which he started compiling his matchless books.[1] This statement in the presence of Barni's own statements can safely be attributed to the piety of Amir Khurd, which prohibited a good Mussalman from speaking ill of the dead. It may be as the Siyar-ul-Auliya relates, that Barni eventually received a small grant from Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, but when Barni wrote his Fatawa-i-Jahandari, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi and Nat-i-Mohammadi, he complains bitterly of his penury and loss of honour.

Barni states in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi:

"I, Zia Barni, the author of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi have fallen a prey to various misfortunes after the death of the Sultan (Mohammad Tughlaq, May God bless him), and my bitter ill-wishers and enemies and vigorous and strong adversaries have attempted to take my life. I am rendered mad with the wounds inflicted by the pointed sticks of their animosity. They have

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1. p. 313.

conveyed hundred types of poisonous things to the Lord of the World (Firoz Shah), and had it not been for the mercy and the blessings of Allah the Almighty and the leniency and consideration.............of the reigning Sultan...............I would have slept long before in the lap of the mother earth".[1]

In the Nat-i-Mohammadi, Barni says that he was confined for five months in the fort of Bhatnir in hourly danger of death. 'His condition was such that if the day dawned, he did not know if he would live until the approach of night.[2]

These poignant statements of Barni provide us with a ground to think that he was implicated or considered by the Sultan to have been implicated in the attempt by Khwaja Ahmad Ayaz, the wazir of the late Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq to establish a putative minor son of Mohammad Tughlaq on the throne of Delhi, therby contesting the right of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq.[3] Such a fall of the servants of deceased Muslim Sultans from the favour of their successors is a commonplace of Muslim Medieval political life. The execution of Hasnak, the wazir of Sultan Mahmud by his son Sultan Masud,[4] and the downfall of Imad-ud-din Raihan during the reign of Sultan Nasir ud-din Mahmud[5] will

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1. T.F.S. p. 557.
2. N.M. Intro.
3. T.F.S. Afif pp. 50, 78.
4. Tarikh-i-Baihaqi R.A.S.B. Edi. Chap. on Hasnak p. 207.
5. Tab Nas Eng. Trans. Raverty p. 698.

testify how a person could suddenly rise to an exalted position and how he could be dashed to the ground the next moment. Barni in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi and the Fatawa-i-Jahandari dilates at length on the evils of resorting to this practice.

Barni's works are closely connected with this sad experience of his life. He could not reconcile himself to his dismissal, which according to him was unjust and in his works he tries to prove his innocence by impressing upon his readers that a man of noble birth as he was and whose ancestors were in the close confidence of the contemporary Sultans of Delhi could never have indulged in sedition. This dismissal from the royal court reduced him to a state of poverty and indigence. His only occupation in life was to compose books after books in which he could curse his enemies and console his disturbed soul by recounting his happy past.[1]

Barni's death:-

Siyar-ul-Auliya does not mention Barni's date of death. But he does not appear to have lived longer after the compilation of his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi at the age of seventy four. After his fall from the royal favour he was again back to the circle of his mystic friends where he breathed his last, and was buried in the graveyard of the disciples of his spiritual guide

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1. T.F.S. pp. 204-5.

Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya.[1]

Our chief interest in concentrating over Barni's life was to find a criteria for evaluating his works. Two important factors have to be kept in mind by every reader of Barni's works, which will reveal how far he was faithful in recording historical events, and further that his political thought is a reflection of his personal experiences at the court of the Sultans of Delhi. Firstly while examining Barni's works we must bear in mind that they were not a result of a life-long effort, but a hasty compilation of a frustrated royal courtier whose memory was constantly failing and whose sour experiences had deprived him of the capacity to exercise an unbiased judgment on historical personages and policies. The second factor which we should keep in mind in this connection is that Barni's works were written with certain political and religious purposes - to plead his innocence before his readers; to obtain a pension for his old age and to make them an 'atonement' for his sins in the next world.

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1. S.A. p. 313.

PART 11

Section A.

Importance of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.

Amidst the wealth of historical works, biographical compilations, belles lettres, poetry, legal literature and mystic table talk, which Muslim scholars produced in India during the pre-Moghul period of Indo Muslim history both under the patronage of the munificent rulers of their times and in their individual capacity, it is indeed surprising that little speculation on the nature and ends of 'Government' is found. The reasons for the almost virgin soil of this field are to be sought particularly in the lack of interest and initiative on the part of the Muslim Sultans of Delhi. None of them showed an inclination for works on 'Government' and 'Administration' as has for example Caliph Mutasim (A.D. 834-842) in ordering the compilation of the Suluk-ul-Muluk fi Tadbir-ul-Mumalik[1] by Ibn-i-Abir-Rabi, or Saif ud-daulah, who made possible the writing of Abu Nasr Mohammad Farabi's (H. 870-950) five works on politics[2] by offering him refuge, or Malik Shah (AD. 1072-92) in suggesting the

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1. Lithographed at Cairo 1286 H. and 1329 H. vide Brockelmann I, 209.

2. A summary of Plato's Laws, Siyasat-ul-Madaniayat, Ara'u Ahl-Madinat-ul-Fazilat, Jawami us-Siyasat and Ijtima-at-ul-Madaniyat. See Ency of Islam Art. on Farabi Vol. 11 E-K pp. 53-55.

   Also Sherwani "Studies In Muslim Political Thought and Administration" Lahore 1945 pp. 63-93.

composition of the Siyasat Nama by Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi. Nor did any Sultan in India write a practical guide on ethics and politics for a son or heir-apparent as did Kaiqaus in his Qabus Nama.[1]

Indeed leaving the Fatawa-i-Jahandari aprt, no other work written by an Indian Muslim, during the period (C.1206-1526) treating the 'Nature and Ends' of 'Government' can be cited. The Adab-ul-Harb of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir compiled in the reign of Sultan Shams ud-din Iltutimish, though it contains some introductory chapters defining the characteristics of a good Muslim king, yet it cannot be regarded as a truly Indian work. The author was not a native of India, and thus could not be expected to have been greatly influenced by circumstances in India. during the 13th century.[2] Moreover, though the author has many interesting remarks to make on good Muslim rulers, the work is overwhelmingly a dissertation on the art of war.[3]

The Zakhirat-ul-Muluk of Ali Shihab Hamadani compiled by the author in the latter part of 14th century in spite of the author's close contacts with Kashmere and its rulers cannot be listed among works on pre-Moghul Indo Muslim political thought. The author as his very nisba suggests was a native of Hamadan,

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1. Edi. by R. Levy, G.M.S. 1951.

2. Vide I. Cul. Art. 1938 pp. 190-234.

3. Adab-ul-Muluk MS. 647 I.O., where twelve chapters are devoted to regal duties of kings and the remaining twenty-eight to the art of war. Ethe. pp. 1493-1495.

but he had visited Kashmere thrice, founded his Khangah there, and played a vital role in the conversation of local population to Islam.[1] However the value of his Zakhirat-ul-Muluk as a hand book on 'Government' should not be ignored. Although this work appears to reflect more on ethics and mysticism than on 'Government', yet it is important for us from one particular point of view. The author, a distinguished mystic of his time, has judged and advised Muslim kings from the mystic's stand-point thus providing us with a mystic conception of ideal rulers.[2] The understanding of Barni's Fatawa-i-Jahandari is deepened considerably by a comparison of his thought with that of Ali-Shihah Hamadani in the Zakhirat-ul-Muluk.

Partial information on Indo Muslim theories of government can also be extracted from political and semi-political histories written during the period. However the fact remains that the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is not only the major extent dicta on'Statecraft', but also the only work on 'Government' produced by an Indian Muslim during the pre-Moghul period of Indian history. Moreover it assists considerably in a better understanding of his other works, particularly the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi.

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1. Khazinat-ul-Asfia of Sheikh Ghulam, printed Newal Kishmore Press Vol. 11, pp. 293-99.

2. Art. by Prof. Lambton Isl. Quarterly April 1954.

As students of history our main interest of course lies in appreciating the importance of the relationship between the Fatawa-i-Jahandari and the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. All medieval historians e.g. Shams Siraj Afif, Yahya Sirhindi, Hindu Shah Fareishta,[1] Abdul Qadir Badayuni[2] and Nizam ud-din Ahmad[3] and modern historians writing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have utilised the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi as a principal source for the history of the period from Balban to Firoz Shah Tughlaq (A.D. 1266-1358).

The Fatawa-i-Jahandari of Barni reveals, that Barni was not very honest and trustworthy in recording events and in portraying historical personages. Since he wrote his works with a definite political purpose, so often in order to prove a thesis, he ignores real facts. He employs the historical personages - kings, Ulemas, wazirs and even mystics to give expression to his own personal views. He portrays them in the form which suits his own purpose. He is guilty of factual, chronological and geographical inaccuracies.

Since we have already seen that Barni's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi has served and is still serving and will serve as the groundwork of evidence and authority on the period it covers,

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1. Lucknow 1865, Trans. in Eng. Briggs Lon. 1829.
2. Edi. B.I. Cal. 1864-9. Eng. Trans. Ranking Cal. 1895.
3. Edi. B.I. Cal. 1913. Trans B.De, 1915 Cal. Edi.

it is almost necessary to study it critically. But a misunderstanding of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi through failure to relate it to the Fatawa-i-Jahandari continues to cause misrepresentation and to lead to unsound conclusions by modern historians.

Thus Dr. Aziz Ahmad in his 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' has almost wholly based his account of the character, theory of kingship and government of Sultan Balban on Barni's description of Balban's reign.[1]

Dr. Ishwari Prashad in his 'History of Medieval India' quotes as a historical fact the passage in which Barni records an interview between Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji and Qazi Moghis ud-din of Bayana.[2]

A comparison of these passages from the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi with the Fatawa-i-Jahandari reveals that Barni, who himself specifically states in his 'preface' to the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, that History is morality and religion teaching by examples, is using these alleged dialogues to express his own ideas which are the same as those which he expresses quite blunlty in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.[3] There is a very significant

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1. pp. 259-271 Also see 'The Administration of the Delhi Sultanate' by I.H. Qureshi ff. 44-45.

2. pp. 205-206.

3. The advice given by Balban to Bughra Khan and by the latter to Kaiqubad in the T.F.S. are the same as Barni expresses through the medium of Sultan Mahmud in the F.J.

passage in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, wherein Barni grants permission to his 'Ideal King' to resort to falsehood, if expediency demands it.[1] This indicates that expediency in Barni's ethics relaxes moral rules of conduct. It can easily be imagined that when 'kings' who are the 'guardians' of Barni's 'states' are justified in deviateing from the truth from self interest, then a fortiori private individuals need not be over scrupulous. Such ststements of Barni in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, the only work in which he was not frightened of being held guilty for speaking ill of the reigning sovereign supply us with a key to examine critically his other works.

The Fatawa-i-Jahandari also appears to be of considerable importance as evidence for the social and economic conditions of the Sultanate of Delhi during the author's lifetime. This work throws a good deal of light on the position of Hindus under the contemporary kings of Delhi.[2] Barni's extensive use of Hindi vocabulary also enables a reader to observe the forces of cultural assimilation at work between the Hindus and the Muslims in Northern India at that time. Barni, who avowedly detests Hindus, denounces them vehemently, yet could not insulate himself against their cultural influence.[3]

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1. F.J. f. 232b.

2. F.J. Nasihat "On the Establishment of Truth At the Centre" see ff. 118a-122a.

3. Barni's theory of caste system is undoubtedly influenced by the caste ridden society of Hindus in Northern India in his times.

In brief it can be safely concluded that the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is not only important for its availability in a unique manuscript, or for being the only exhaustive work on Indo Muslim political thought of the Sultanate period, but also for its assistance in understanding and examining critically the other works of Barni, particularly the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi.[1]

Section B.

Form of the Work:-

The earliest notice of the work occurs in the catalogue of the Oriental Library of Tippoo Sultan as stated previously. The cataloguer has listed this work among books on Ethics.[2]

The second notice of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is found in the catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library prepared by Dr. Ethe. He defines the work as a compilation of ecclesiastical decisions, advices and admonitions and has listed it among works on 'Theology and Law'.[3]

An additional leaf at the end of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari suggests it to be a work on history.[4] Now examining all these

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1. The due importance of the work is testified by its being prescribed as a text-book for post-graduate studies in Political Science at the Unvty. of Aligarh.

2. Camb. 1809 p. 52.

3. Ethe p. 1377.

4. I.O. MS. 1149.

three statements in the light of the contents and the subject matter of the work, it appears that the work does not deal with the general principles of ethics, but a particular branch of ethics only which can be termed as political ethics, and that it does not deserve to be listed among works on 'Theology and Law' and further, that it is not a work on history. Dr. Ethe's definition of the work is gravely misleading and appears to have caused a good deal of misunderstanding in the minds of readers about the contents of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari. Two instances will probably illustrate this point.

Professor Tripathi in his 'Some Aspects of Muslim Administration In India"[1], while drawing evidence from historical works like the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Barni on the Indo Muslim theory of government has not even casually referred to the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, which is the principal source of information on the subject. This indicates that he must have been carried away by Dr. Ethe's definition and did not regard the work to be on political theory.

Another instance in this connection is that of Harun Khan Sherwani, who in his "Studies In Muslim Political Thought and Administration"[2] does not include the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, and

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1. Allahabad, 1936.

2. Lahore 1945. pp. 194-212.

instead includes Mahmud Gawan's eight letters to illustrate the Medieval Muslim political thought in India. Indeed a comparison of Barni's political thought with that of Mahmud Gawan will reveal to us that Barni's thought is much more exhaustive and representative of those times.

The Fatawa-i-Jahandari as its contents show is a work exclusively devoted to an exposition of the origin and nature of monarchy and the duties of monarchs as rulers and as individuals. It is in the tradition of 'adab' literature, and in form and motif does not differ fundamentally from other medieval Muslim works, which come in the category of "Mirrors for Princes"[1] as for example the Siyasat Nama of Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi, the Qabus Nama of Kaiqaus, the Adab-Ul-Harb of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir the Zakhirat-ul-Muluk of Ali Shihab Hamadani, the Akhlaq-i-Jahangiri[2] of Nur ud-din Khaqani and the Muizzat-i-Jahangiri of Mohammad Baqir Nazm us-Sani. Instead however of being divided into babs (chapters), it is divided into Nasaih (advices). A comparison of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari with these works will reveal that Barni's theory of the origin of government, the grounds of political obligation, economic regulations of the

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1. See Prof. Lambton art on Nasihat ul-Muluk of Ghazzali Isl. Qua. April 1954 p. 47.

2. MS No. 1547 I.O. Ethe pp. 1200-1.

state and the safeguard of ancient royal households are additional information, which are not discussed by the above works.[1]

The Fatawa-i-Jahandari consists of an introduction, the major part of which appears to have been lost,[2] twenty four Nasaih according to my estimate, and an epilogue. Every Nasihat is discussed at considerable length and exemplified by anecdotes proving the validity of the author's arguments. The anecdotes quoted by the author are of a varied character. Some refer to the pre-Muslim Persian and Byzantine rulers, and some draw upon Prophet Mohammad and the Muslim Caliphs, whereas the others refer to later Muslim and non Muslim kings.

The Manuscript copy has reached us in a very damaged form. The first few folios of the copy are badly damaged and thus the original words are illegible. The work also suffers from a number of lacunae.[3] Apart from these defects there are many errors of transcription which suggest that either the author's own rotograph was defective or probably the mistakes are due to the different hands through which the manuscript must have passed. Moreover at some places the text shows carelessness of transcription. Some folios or parts of folios have been

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1. See Part 111 of translator's Intro.

2. See notes at the end of translation.

3. See Appendix B. which contains a list of them.

transcribed at wrong places. Some folios also appear to have been lost at different places and some have been left blank in the text. At the end of this copy an attempt has been made by the copyist to add some folios to the work.[1]

The inaccuracies and defects in the text have been pointed out in the notes, wherever they occur and have been corrected on the basis of Barni's own use of similar vocabulary throughout the text and in his three other works and partly on the basis of self discretion exercised keeping in mind the requirements of the context. The text appears to have been copied by one person from begiming to end, though the differences of the thickness and thinness of pen will be observed in the copy. It is written in a clear nastalikh hand.

<u>Scope of the work:-</u>

In order to discuss the scope of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari it is necessary to inquire whether it is a work on Theoretical Politics or Practical and Applied Politics or deals with both the aspects of Politics.

Theorectical politics according to modern writers on Political Science like Jellink, Janet, Lewis, Cornewall and Pollock[2] deals with the fundamental characteristics of the State

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1. ff. 247a-248a.

2. History of the Science of Politics by F. Pollock. Also Political Science and Govt. B.B. Majumdar, Cal. 1940 p.3.

such as the origin, nature, attributes and ends of the State and the principles of political organisation and administration, whereas Practical Politics on the other hand is concerned with the actual administration of the affairs of government.

Examining the Fatawa-i-Jahandari from this modern division of the Science of Politics, it appears to deal with both those aspects. There are some Nasaih in the work which throw light on the origin, nature and end of government, and the others deal with concrete administrative problems e.g. the appointment of barids (intelligencers), the organisation of the army, and the making of war and peace. Moreover it lays down personal ethical and religious precepts for individual rulers which suggest that for Barni Science of religion and Politics are inseparable.[1] Hence the scope of the work appears to be very wide.

Method:-

Almost all Nasihats of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari with occasional exceptions start with the statement of Sultan Mahmud based on general rules of political conduct. Then the author deals at some length with this principle; examines its advantages and disadvantages in relation to the King's dealings with his nobles and commons, and then he illustrates it by quoting several anecdotes. The number of anecdotes given

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1. F.J.f. 243a.

appears to depend not on the intrinsic importance of the subject of the Nasihat but upon the author's memory. Barni relates these anecdotes as if they were historically true, but they appear largely traditional and legendary.

Superficially Barni's method of expression in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari[1] resembles that of Aristotle, Montesquieu and Maine, who employed the Comapratıve Method of Political Science, but a close study reveals that Barni does not fulfil the six essential requirements of this method viz. accumulation, arrangement, classification, co-ordination of data from different historical forms of government, elimination and deduction from them.

Barni's method can also be called historical to a large extent, because the Historical Method is itself a particular form of the Comparative Method. We find that in nearly every case he proves the truth of a principle, which he chooses to propound on the touchstone of tradition or historical facts though his anecdotes are not very convincing. He argues from the dogmas of previous authorities whose claims to truth he does not question. For example thus when making the assertion that

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1. F.J. ff. 6b, 17a, 43b, 207a.

forgiveness and punishment are the indispensable conditions of government, Barni proves it by taking the illustrations of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mamun and the Tubba kings of Yemen.[1]

The Comparative and Historical methods which Barni employs in his Fatawa-i-Jahandari are methods of induction. The Deductive or Philosophical method of Political Science, which has been used by Rausseau Mill, Sidgwick and Bluntschli, and which implies starting from some abstract original idea about human nature and deducing from that idea the nature of the State, its aims and functions, and harmonising and verifying these theories in the light of facts of history, also finds expression in Barni's Fatawa-i-Jahandari.[2]

Barni's approach to political rules of conduct is not static but dynamic. He believes that the social order is constantly changing and so the ideal Muslim ruler cannot possibly govern the realms on the traditions of Prophet Mohammad and the four Orthodox Caliphs. Instead of leading a

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1. F.J. ff. 154b, 190a, 209a, 220b, 223a.

2. For example Barni asserts that Umru Lais the Saffarid rúler was a man of low birth and he committed treachery with Amir Ismail Samańi, so the kings of Islam must never trust men of humble birth. F.J. ff. 4a and f. 197a.

life of poverty and simplicity as the Prophet and the first four Caliphs did, the ideal Muslim ruler has to adopt the Sanssanid traditions of government, which alone will ensure peace and order in the body-politic.[1]

Barni's Style:-

All the four works of Barni show that he had a thorough command over the persian language. Richness of vocabulary, constant use of superfluous adjectives,[2] and the expression of his ideals in a melodramitic tone constitute the salient features of his style. His favourite phrases, for example -[3]

خبط عشوا - شتر و گربه - انگشت بجز بدندان گرفتن - سر بتراشیدن و راه حجاز گرفتن -
در پی محنی پای بر بستر دراز کردن - خرقه درویشان پوشیدن - کوزهٔ آب در گوشه تجرید
نهادن - بر دو پیان داشتن - -

add beauty to his sentences. In order to make his statements more effective, Barni indulges quite freely in rhetorical questions thus:

نه جهانداران خلف و سلف از بی باکی نامردان و مکاران و شریران و بدلعنتان
خود را بتر نمایان . . . . داشته اند -[4]

نه آن گنجها بوقت اعطای مواجب لشکرها تودها و خزینهای زر و نقره بخشش داد -[5]

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1. F.J. ff. 89a, 98a -99b.

2. For example F.J. f. 124a.
کفر و شرک و فسق و فجور و باطل و فنا و دروغ و نفاق و خمر و زنا و لواطت و غصب و غارت و ظلم و تعدّی و تغلّب و تسلّط
و بغی و طغیان و شطط و عدوان و تمرّد و بی فرمانی و بی ایمانی و تمویه و تزویر و تلبیس و عقوق و حرامزادگی و بهتان و افترا و غیبت . . . . .
Also ff. 199b-200a and b. - . . . . و ربا و احتکار و ناسپاسی و ناحق شناسی و غل و غش و حرام خورده -

3. F.J. ff. 55b, 69b, 70a, 172a.

4. F.J. f. 2b, I.9.   5. 69b, L12.

In some places Barni uses some terms like Jizya and birshikal irrespective of their technical meanings. For instance the term Jizya has often been used by him as an equivalent for Kharaj, and the term birshikal indicating ordinary rain and not rainy season, its literal meaning.[1]

Barni in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is found to repeat himself frequently to almost a wearisome degree.

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1. F.J. f. 119a. Eng. Sanskrit Dic. Lond. 1851 p. 653. Steingass p. 175. Also see notes at the end of the translation.

Section C.

Sultan Mahmud as the Eponymous Hero of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari:-

The Fatawa-i-Jahandari of Barni is exclusively devoted to a study of Sultan Mahmud's adventures, policies and jihad, and deals with other kings and persons only in relation to Sultan Mahmud.[1] Barni's choice of this Sultan as the eponymous 'hero' of his work is a fact which requires some discussion. Though Sultan Mahmud had died three centuries earlier, yet the memories of the 'holy warrior' and the 'champion of the Faith' were still alive for a large number of Mussalmans, who belonged to the Sunni sect of Islam - the Hanafis, the Malikites, the Shafiites and the Hanbalites[2] as distinct from the Shia sect of Mussalmans, and those who could be designated as Mutazilites.[3] In Sultan Mahmud the orthodox Mussalmans found a true Muslim ruler, who launched far flung campaigns in distant India extirpated millions of Hindus, the worst enemies of Islam, and who illuminated the lands of kafirs and mushriks with the light of Islam. To poets Mahmud proved to be an 'ideal figure', whose eulogies could enrich their poetry; to historians, who in order to exemplify ideal Sultans had to draw upon the Khosroes and the

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1. For example see F.J. ff. 178b and 204b. In all the Nasaih Barni quotes an anecdote of a king or Caliph other than Mahmud in order to prove the validity of Mahmud's admonitions.

2. See Browne Lit. Hist. of Persia Vol. 1 pp. 294-5.

3. See Hughes Dic. of Islam p. 425, Lon. 1935. Ency. of Islam Vol. L-R pp. 787-93.

and the Ceasers, the pre Muslim Persian and Byzantine kings, the figure of Sultan Mahmud supplied a perfect model for their compositions.

The legend of Sultan Mahmud as distinct from the estimate of his character by the Ghaznavide historians like Utbi, Alberuni, Baihaqi and Gardizi,[1] continued to grow in the Muslim world. It was probably the Jama-ul-Hikayat of Mohammad Awfi[2] which established the legend in India. Every writer who felt the urge, found himself entitled to contribute to this 'good work' including the great Sheikh Sadi of Shiraz. By the time Barni compiled his Fatawa-i-Jahandari the knowledge of real Mahmud was confined to genuine students of history - the readers of Utbi, Baihaqi and Gardizi. To the general public, Mahmud's figure represented a mass of legend and tradition, whose memoirs were fully treasured in anecdotes of various types. A very good example of such literature written in India is the Futuh Us-Salatin[3] of Maulana Isami, which relates a number of stories about Mahmud merely on hearsay evidence.

Barni could make his Fatawa-i-Jahandari immortal only by devoting it to the heroic campaigns of Sultan Mahmud launched in the 'Path of the Lord'. This Sultan alone could have

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1. For example see Baihaqi pp. 636-38, where he quotes the Qazi of Bust and his refusal to accept the royal gift on the plea that Mahmud's treasures were not lawful wealth.

2. MS 595 I.O. Some portions translated in Urdi pub. by Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu.

3. Futuh-us-Salatin pp. 30-59.

justified Barni's conception of an orthodox Muslim ruler. As the Sultans of Delhi did not bestow due patronage on a man of Barni's high birth, noble lineage and mature scholarship, hence they were disqualified from standing up to the standard of Barni's high conception of a good ruler. Among the Sultans of Delhi whom Barni describes in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi no king with the single exception of Sultan Ghiyas ud-din Tughlaq had been free of blemish.[1] Even this Sultan could not in the last years of Barni's life, when his mind with the consciousness of approaching death amidst galling poverty grew more and more fanatical against all those groups of men, whom he detested from the very bottom of his heart - the worst among them being the Hindus, have fulfilled the strict conditions of religious orthodoxy, necessary for a true Muslim king. Thus Sultan Mahmud the popular hero of 'jihad' was the only king to whom Barni could turn for a justification of his views. So the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is an exposition of Barni's rules of good temporal rulership, expressed through his mouthpiece Sultan Mahmud, whom he wished to see on the throne of Delhi - a Sultan re-created in a Delhi environment. Barni had breathed in an

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1. In T.F.S. eleven chaps. on Firoz Tughlaq are to be treated as the eulogies of a disappointed courtier yearning for royal favour.

atmosphere dominated by kings and maliks about whom he did not think highly - in particular Ala ud-din Khilji and Mohammad b. Tughlaq. In the Fatawa-i-Jahandari he could continue his ideals of good government as expressed in a similar idiom in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi by placing a king embodying his own doctrines. For this purpose Sultan Mahmud could serve as a singular personality, who could convey to the humanity, Barni's theory of good government, who in the atmosphere of inter-communal cultural harmony between the ruler and the ruled, could preach the theory of the continuation of 'jihad' and 'ghazwa' as an obligatory duty on rulers against the multitude of infidels.

Section D.

Authenticity of Barni's Anecdotes:-

In The Fatawa-i-Jahandari, Barni, to prove his thesis has illustrated every Nasihat with one or more anecdotes. Normally Barni either quotes the name of the work from which he copies the anecdotes, or states the name of the author. In the case of Sultan Mahmud he never quotes any source of evidence. In some places, he is contented to say that famous Arab or Persian historians have related such and such.[1]

Barni's knowledge of history and literary brilliance have been duly commended by his two junior contemporaries viz. Amir Khurd[2] and Shams Siraj Afif.[3] None of them or the later medieval historians like Yahya Sirhindi, Fareishta, Abdul Qadir Budayuni or Nizam ud-din have doubted the authenticity of Barni's facts as described in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. But in this history Barni was only concerned with stating or recording the reigns of kings, who were either his own contemporaries, or those about whom the information was supplied to him by his teachers, relations and friends. Hence his field of observation and investigation was limited. Barni originally intended to write

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1. F.J. ff. 50a, 201a.

2. Siyar-ul-Auliya pp. 312-13.

3. T.F.S. Afif pp. 29-30, 177.

world history but he abandoned this idea because this task had already been performed successfully by Minhaj us-Siraj, so he in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi has resumed the thread where his predecessor left.[1] Had Barni compiled a history from the creation of the world of course we would have been in a position to compare the weight of his evidence with the events related in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.

Barni's two other works are not very illuminating on this point because in his Nat-i-Mohammadi, he has only confined himself with the good deeds of Prophet Mohammad, whereas his Tarikh-i-Ale Baramaka is a translation of an Arabic original. However in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, Barni's sources of evidence are quite bulky. He has not only drawn freely upon the pre Muslim rulers of Ajam, but on the Ceasers of Byzantine, the Tubbas of Yamen, the history of Prophet Mohammad, the four Orthodox Caliphs, the Omayyad Caliphs, the Abbasid Caliphs, the Saffarids, the Samanids, the Ghazanvides, the Karakhatais, the Seljuks and the Khwarazmiens.[2]

Similarly among his authorities, Barni quotes the most original source of evidence on the subject, for example while describing the days of Prophet Mohammad he quotes the oldest

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1. T.F.S. pp. 20-21.

2. F.J. ff. 2a, 74a, 87a, 201a, 239a.

biographer Ibn Ishaq. For the four Orthodox Caliphs and the later Ommayyad and Abbaside Caliphs, he draws upon the works of Imam Waqidi, Sa'alibi and Asmai. While referring to the famous Seljuk king Sultan Sanjar, he quotes the work "Tarikh-i-Sanjari" written by Sultan Sanjar's dabir Moin Ism. For the history of the creation, he refers to a work "Tarikh-i-Umam-ul-Awwalin"; for the history of pre Muslim Persian kings he quotes works such as the Tarikh-i-Akasira, Wasaya-i-Jamshed, Sikander Nama-i-Rumiyan and Kalimat-i-Afridun.

How far Barni's sources are credible is a question which requires critical answer? The historians to whom Barni refers as his source of authority for the information on Prophet Mohamad, the early and later Caliphs, were all well-known biographers, historians, grammarians and philologists of their age.[1] But the names of the works allotted to them do not appear to be reliable, which gives ground for thinking Barni at the time of writing his Fatawa-i-Jahandari did not have these books at his elbow. He was no doubt a well-read man and must have fulfilled the requisite conditions od a medieval nadim, which imply according to the 'Siyazat Nama' of Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi

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1. See notes where a sketch of their lives and works is given.

and the 'Qabus Nama' of Kaiqaus, that a nadim must be a treasure house of stories, anecdotes, humorous and witty remarks. Certainly Barni from the width of his knowledge of past history shows that he was a widely read man, but it was a knowledge with its own limitations.

The anecdotes cited in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari show that Barni did not exercise proper care in sorting his material, checking his authorities, and producing a trustworthy account of events. A few instances from his anecdotes will help in a clear understanding of his historical inaccuracies.

Like his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Barni in Fatawa-i-Jahandari shows little respect for chronology. However, wherever he mentions dates in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, they bear testimony to his failing memory. Sultan Mahmud at one place has been cited as ruling since the last thirty six years, at another place Sultan Mahmud tells Qadir Khan of Khita that he was a ruler for the last thirty-eight years. If the two Ghaznavide historians, Baihaqi and Gardizi and the later historian Minhaj us-Siraj, whose authenticity and honesty Barni doubted least are to be believed, Sultan Mahmud did not rule for more than thirty-three years.[1]

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1. F.J. ff. 158b, 165a. Baihaqi p.12, Gardizi p.92, T.Nas. Raverty pp. 80, 88.

Another evidence showing Barni's defective chronology is the example of Sultan Sanjar, whom he reports to have died at the age of ninety-five after a rule of seventy or eighty years.[1] According to Minhaj us-Siraj, Sultan Sanjar died at the age of seventy-three and a little over after having ruled for sixty-two years.[2] This shows that Barni was not in possession of any historical material, while writing his Fatawa-i-Jahandari, otherwise he would not have been guilty of giving erroneous dates.

If the character of Sultan Mahmud as presented by Barni in his Fatawa-i-Jahandari is studied in the light of the works of Baihaqi, Gardizi, Minhaj us-Siraj and Fareishta, we shall find that Barni has not attempted a critical and historical study of Sultan Mahmud, and has only portrayed him as a hero of 'a thousand romances'. A few instances perhaps will illustrate the point. Barni's eponymous hero Sultan Mahmud was a staunch Shafiite Muslim according to whom no third choice is given to a non Muslim except death (qatl) or Islam (Iman). From his very childhood Mahmud was inspired with the desire to shake the foundations of kufr and shirk. He launched far flung campaigns into distant India mainly to extirpate the

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1. F.J. f. 204b.

2. Raverty T. Nas. pp. 146, 156-7.

Brahmans, who were the Imams of the false faiths. He was not influenced by the love for wealth, but the desire of martyrdom always illuminated his bosom. He never accepted any presents from non Muslims as a gift and spared their life. If only he was able to launch one more campaign in India he would have put all the remaining Hindus to sword.[1] Sultan Mahmud vehemently detested the Mutazilites and the philosophers who were the worst enemies of the 'True Faith'. If only Abu Ali Sina, the progenitor of Greek philosophy in the lands of Islam had fallen into his hands, he would have torn him to pieces and made his flesh a tasty food for the kites.[2] Moreover Mahmud always prayed humbly before the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds to make him truly thankful for the bounty of 'kingship' conferred upon him by Almighty God. He never missed any of his congregational prayers. Qadr Khan of Khita embraced Islam at his hands and so forth.[3]

How far this estimate of Barni is truly applicable to Sultan Mahmud of history will be revealed by the scientific estimate of Mahmud by a modern scholar Barthold, who says;[4]

"Even the latest historian of Islam A. Muller, speaking

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1. F.J. ff. 12a. 13a, 38b.

2. F.J. ff. 10a and b.

3. F.J. ff. 39a and b, 187a.

4. Turlestan Down to The Mongal Invasion pp. 287-289 vide Nazim Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna pp. 151-170.
Habib, Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, pp. 63-87.

of the salient points of Mahmud's character, emphasises almost his untiring energy; of the other side of his character, he mentions only his 'short-sighted fanaticism', thanks to which streams of Infidel blood were shed in India, and heretics were mercilessly persecuted in the actual domains of the Sultan. But Mahmud's reign presents other and yet darker sides, and his subjects perished in thousands, not only by accusations of heresay, but by ruinous taxation..........For the mass of his subjects his Indian campaigns were but sources of ruin. Mahmud was constantly in need of money for them; before one of his campaigns he ordered the indispensable sum to be collected within two days, which was actually achieved, but in the words of the court historians, the officials were 'fleeced like sheep'. Such facts show that it is scarcely only on the wazir Abul Abbas Fazl bin Ahmad Isfaraini, as the same historian maintains, that the responsibilty rests for the ruinous imposts, in consequence of which 'the agricultural districts were to a great degree deserted, and the irrigation works in some places had fallen into decay, in others it had ceased altogether'. On the top of the conditions came the famine year (401-1011 A.D.)..........In Naishapur and its neighbourhood alone as many as 100,000 men are said to have perished..........In the sense of taking thought for the welfare of his subjects, therefore Mahmud cannot by any means be reckoned among the enlightened despots........ Nor can his solicitude for matters religious be taken as an indication of true piety. Mahmud cannot but have understood

the link between political and religious conservatism; hence he gave his patronage to the Ulema and Shaikhs, but only so long as they remained the obedient tools of his policy".

Thus Barni's estimate of Sultan Mahmud represents a picture seen from one end of the telescope alone, which shades the weaknesses and blemishes of Sultan Mahmud's character. Surely if Barni had conceived Sultan Mahmud as lacking in religious zeal and being dominated by worldly motives guiding his jihad and ghazwa, he would not have selected him to be his 'ideal prince'

In some anecdotes Barni displays a complete ignorance of the history of the Muslim Caliphate or else in order to suit his own philosophy, he moulds the character of a historical personage into a 'figure' of his own fancy. An appropriate illustration of such an unhistorical treatment of historical figures is offered by his oft quoted anecdote of the famous Abbaside Caliph al-Mamun (A.D. 813-833), son of Harun ur-Rashid.

Barni's pen picture of Caliph al Mamun, widely differs from the character of the real al-Mamun. The two anecdotes[1] quoted by Barni about this Caliph attribute to him an attitude of religious

1. F.J. ff. 125a - 133b.

orthodoxy - in particular to put him forward as a protector of orthodox Islam and orthodox religious scholars like Imam Ahmad Hanbal, the founder of the Hanbalite Sunni school, Imam Yahya, another scholar of the Ortodox branch of Muslims, and Sheikh Abdullah Mubarak, a distinguished mystic.[1] Did Caliph al-Mamun belong to the orthodox class of Muslim Caliphs and offered refuge to the eminent religious scholars of this school? The critical observation of al Mamun's character by Professor Browne will suggest the answer.[2]

"It was however under the eralier Abbasid Caliphs, notably in the reign of the Caliph al Mamun (A.D. 813-833) and his son al-Wathiq (A.D. 842-847), that the Mutazalite school was most powerful. It had taken possession of these Caliphs and their courts, and enriched its stores of argument and method of dialectics by the study of Greek philosophy, and supported this by its internal strength and the external favours of the governing classes, bade fair altogether to extinguish the orthodox party, towards whom in spite of its generally liberal and tolerant attitude, it showed itself irreconcilably hostile. The orthodox doctrine that the Quran was uncreate, they hold in particular detestation. In the year A.H. 211 (A.D.826:

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1. F.J. ff. 125b - 127a.

2. Lt. Hist. of Per Vol.1. pp. 283-384. Also see Muir Caliphate pp. 494-511.

Tabari 111, p. 1099) al-Mamun having nearly provoked a civil war by his Shia proclivities, and especially by his nomination of the eighth Imam of the Shiites, Ali ar-Rida as his successor to the throne (a difficulty whence, with singular inconsistency he extricated himself by secretly poisoning the Imam and instigating the assissination of the too zealous minister, Fadl ba Sahl, who had counselled this step), proclaimed the doctrine that the Quran was created, not uncreate,as an indisputable truth; and seven years later, in the last years of his Caliphate, he compelled seven eminent men of learning (amongst whom was Ibn Sad, the secretary of the great historian al Waqidi) to declare their adhesion to this doctrine, after which he wrote a long letter to Ishaq b. Ibrahim bidding him question such theologians as he suspected of holding the prohibited belief, and punish such as refused tomdeclare the Quran to be created. Some two dozen eminent and highly esteemed Muslims, the most notable of whom was Ahmad b. Hanbal, the founder of one of the four Orthodox schools of the Sunnites, were called before this tribunal, and by threats and imprisonment, most of them were induced to subscribe to the Caliph's declaration that the Quran was created, save Ahmad b. Hanbal who stood firm, and, but for the sudden death of al-Mamun, which happened shortly afterwards, would have been in grave peril of his life"

From a comparison of Barni's version of the character and policy of al Mamun with that of the general trend of historians

it is clear to us that Barni urged on to impose his thesis on the facts, transgresses the limits imposed by historical evidence and gives a description of the historical personage as it serves his purpose.

Then again Barni ascribes sayings and actions which in fact quite contrary to their principles of life. Barni quotes an anecdote about the meeting between the Abbasid Caliph Harun ur-Rashid (A.D. 786-809) and Fuzail b. Ayaz.[1] Barni's story is related to show that when the Caliph calls at the door of Fuzail b Ayaz in great distress, weeps before him vehemently and seeks the counsel of this great Sufi whereby he could compensate for the sins of his earthly power, Fuzail is moved to compassion, treats the Caliph with respect, and comforts and consoles him by assuring him that he will be granted salvation by Almighty God for his services as a benevolent ruler. This pen picture of Fuzail by Barni is quite contrary to what is found in the mystic annals, which seem much more historical, bearing in mind the mystic's contempt for the pomp and glory of Muslim Caliphs. The meeting of Caliph Harun ur-Rasid as reported by mystic works appears historically true. The following version of

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1. F.J. ff. 15a - 16b.

of Tazkirat-ul-Auliya supported by Kashaf-ul-Mahijub,[1] Siyar-ul-Auliya[2] and Risala-i Qushairi[3] shows how the partisans of Muslim Caliphs and Sultans dragged in the unwordly mystics into the political field in order to make them give voice to their, and not the mystic's opinions.

"My heart is tired of pomp", Harun-ur-Rashid said to Fuzail Barmaki, his wazir, "take me to some men tonight, so that my heart may be at ease".

Fuzail took him to the door of Sufyan Uyayna's chamber, and knocked.

"Who is it?".

"The Commander of the Faithful".

"Why didyou not inform me? I would have come to you" replied Sufyan.

Harun on hearing this said:"He is not the man I seek"

Sufyan overheard this and uttered: "The type of man you look for is Fuzail Ayaz".

They went to the house of Ayaz. From inside the house they heard him reciting the (Quranic) verse: "Do those who act evilly believe that we will treat (them) in the same way as those who

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1. Nicholson Trans. pp. 98-100.

2. S.A. Chap. on Ayaz pp. 33-35.

3. Cairo Edi. p. 10 et seq.

believe".

They knocked at the door.

"Who is it?" Fuzail inquired.

"The Commander of the Faithful".

"What has the Commander of the Faithful to do with me, and I with him? Do not disturb me".

Fuzail Barmaki said: "It is necessary to obey those in authority".

Fuzail Ayaz replied: "Do not (try to) frighten me".

Fuzail Barmaki asked: "Do we come in by permission or by force (hukum)?".

Fusail Ayaz replied : "Permission you will not get, as for force that is up to you to decide".

They entered in. Fuzail Ayaz extinguished the light, so that he may not have to see Harun's face. In the darkness Harun's hand fell on the hand of Fuzail Ayaz. Fuzail Ayaz said: "How soft is this hand, if only it was to be spared from Hell-fire?". After having made this remark, Ayaz rose up for saying his prayers. After he had finished his prayers, Harun said to him: "Speak something".

"Your ancestor (Hazrat Abbas) was an uncle of the Prophet. Once he requested the Prophet "Make me ruler over the people". The Prophet replied: "I have made you a ruler over nafs (self) i.e. it is better for you to worship God than to be obeyed by

the people for a thousand years. Indeed worldly authority will be something to repent for on the Day of Judgment".

"Pray enlighten me further". said Harun.

"When Umar, son of Abdul Aziz was put on the throne of the Caliphate". Ayaz continued, he summoned Salim b. Abdullah, Rija b. Hayat and Mohammad b. Kali". I have got into this trouble (i,e. the Caliphate). What is the way out for me? Omar asked them. One of them replied: "If you wish to escape divine wrath tomorrow, consider the old Mussalmans to be your sons, and the women to be your sisters and mothers; offer them the treatment due to mothers, fathers, brothers "and sisters".

"Pray enlighten me further".

"As the land of Islam is like your house, and the people like your family, be kind to your fathers, be generous to your brothers, and be good to your sons". He then added, "I am afraid of your nature, for it will drag you to Hell-fire and make you wicked". He further said: "Many fair faces look terrible in Hell-fire, and many rulers will be imprisoned in Hell".

Harun wept profusely and said: "Enlighten me further".

Fuzail said: "Be afraid of God and be prepared to answer His questions. Be ready for the fact that on the Day of Judgment, God will inquire from you about each and every Mussalman, and he will seek justice for every one of them. If at night a destitute woman (goes hungry) to bed, she will catch hold of your skirt tomorrow and appeal (to God) against you?".

Harun was so overcome with grief, that he lost all consciousness.

Fazail Barmaki said to Ayaz: "Please stop. You have killed the Commander of the Faithful".

"Be silent O Haman", Ayaz replied, "It is you and your people who have killed Haran and not I".

Harun remarked: "He calls you Haman, because he considers me to be Pharoah".

Harun inquired from Ayaz: "Are you in debt?".

Ayaz replied: "I am in debt to God - and that is obedience. If He holds me responsible on that account, it will be terrible for me".

"I was asking you about your debt to men", Harun explained.

"Thanks be to God for I have to-day His abundant gifts, and maintain no complaint".

Harun placed a present of one thousand dinars before Ayaz and explained, "It is lawful money. I have received it in inheritance from my mother".

Fuzail replied: "All my advice has done you no good; you have started your oppression and tyranny even now. I call you to salvation and to lightness (of the burden of your sins), and you summon me to ruination and burden (of sins). I have said: Give back what you have to their owners, and you offer it to one to whom you ought not to give. My words are of no use to you".

Ayaz rose up from before Harun and shut the door. Harun

came out of the house, and said: Oh! What a man indeed![1].........

This anecdote compared with Barni's version greatly assists in the understanding of Barni's outlook and treatment of the mystics. In spite of spending his best and major part of life under the guidance of Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya, a true adherent of the principles of the early mystics of Islam - their attitude of repugnance towards their earthly rulers still failed to grasp the essence of their teachings. He only followed the mechanical performance of religious rites. The great mystic truths touched him only outwardly. Service of the rulers and the mystic path could not work in harmony, and Barni had certainly chosen the former.

The impression which Barni's anecdotes have upon us is that even as regards the commonly accepted history of the Muslim world, he shows a degree of ignorance which could be wilful or merely a result of lapse of memory. It can hardly be expected that a man of his age, his tragic circumstances and his sad experiences would maintain a mental balance sufficient to check the accuracy of his material. He wrote from memory and a memory which constantly played him false.

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1. Tazkirat-ul-Auliya.Lond. 1905 pp. 77-79.

Part III

Political Doctrines of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.

Barni in his Fatawa-i-Jahandari supplies to his readers a more or less exhaustive theory of Muslim Statecraft. As is obvious from the contents of this work, Barni has concerned himself more with the examination and analysis of the Institution of Government, its origin, its end, its purpose and justification, rather than the surveying of the various departments of government, their organisation and management. Barni's choice of subject is fully justified on his part, when we relate it to the then existing political atmosphere of the Sultanate of Delhi.

A glance through Barni's life story as described in ~~the~~ part 1 of my Introduction will surely reveal to readers that under the conditions, he undertook to the compilation of this work, he was deprived of all considerations of personal gain at the hands of the ruling sovereign of his times. Thus the need to procure to the ruling princes and their bureaucracy with a hand-book of practical administration did not confront Barni He composed the Fatawa-i-Jahandari out of an ideolical purpose - a purpose, which he thought needed to be served by him with his full diligence as a good sunni Muslim. By formulating his rules of 'temporal rulership' and 'good government' he was inclined to believe that he was rendering a memorable service to his creator and his religion.[1]

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1. F.J. Epilogue f. 246 a,b.

Barni says that if the rulers act on the rules of political expediency, formulated by him, they will render the greatest service to their Lord —— nurturing His creatures under the wings of their mercy and compassion in order that His creatures are enabled to fulfill the divine aim behind the creation of the world - worship of the Almighty.[1] In so doimg the Muslim rulers will elevate the tenets of the 'True Faith', Islam; will'illuminate the whole globe with its radiance', and ultimately fulfill the obligations they owe to their creator. Certainly the merit of these religious actions of the Muslim rulers will be shared by Barni, who has made efforts to envisage the rules of 'good government'. His end will be that salvation in the next world, which he craves so ardently.

In brief this is the idealogical purpose intended by the compiler of the Fatawi-i-Jahandari. But before attempting the actual analysis and critical examination of the political doctrines of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, it is necessary to survey briefly the political state of affairs in Medieval Muslim India during Barni's lifetime and the prevalent political theory At this stage it will be difficult to make any valid observations about these two points without tracing briefly their

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1. F.J. ff. 44b, 242a.

relationship to early Islamic history and the successive development of Muslim political theory before Barni wrote.

Section A.

The Rise of Islam and the successive development of Muslim Political Theory:-

Islam was founded in Arabia by Mohammad A.D. 570-632 in the first quarter of the 7th century. It has manifested itself through a known medium, through a book, the Quran. Its teachings have been supplemented by a Tradition, the Sunnah and the Hadis, which have been carefully collected by the learned men of Islam.[1]

"Mohammad" says Grunebaum, "had set up his followers as a theocracy, a commonwealth, in which the political power was held by the Lord, who had it administrated by His apostle and deputy, Mohammad, whose divine mission conveyed to him political power. Thus the community knew no distinction between the temporal and the spiritual, when it came to defining this power".[2]

Mohammad was a child of his age and environment. He was impressed by the Jeudeo-Christian doctrines, which were undoubtedly professed by some in Mecca, and which inclined the

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1. Muslim Institutions, M.G. Demombynes. Eng. Trans. John P. Maggregar, p. 13.

2. Medieval Islam. p. 157.

minds of others towards 'Monotheism'.[1] On his death he left his Ummat leaderless. By averting to appoint his successor, Dr. Arnold thinks, Mohammad showed full realisation to the strength of Arab tribal feeling, which recognised no hereditary principle in its primitive forms of political life.[2] After some discussion among the 'faithful', Abu Baker Siddig was elected Caliph by acclamation.[3] Hence in this way the birth of the Muslim institution of the Caliphate took place. The head of the Muslim state took the title of Khahifat ur-Rasool-i-Allah, (the successor of the Apostle of God.)[4]

The second Caliph Umar Khattab was nominated as his successor by his predecessor and the community of the 'believers' quite in keeping with the primitive Arab custom, offered baiyat to him.[5] This Caliph is related to have assumed the title of Amir ul-Muminin (the commander of the Faithful), which was certainly a more vigorous and arrogant designation.[6] Thence onward throughout the history of the Muslim Caliphate, this

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1. Demombynes, Eng. Trans. p.15.
2. Caliphate, p. 19. Also see Demomoynes, Eng. Trans. p.19.
3. Arnold, p. 20.
4. Ibid, p. 51.
5. Ibid pp. 21, 51.
6. Arnold p. 35.

title was adopted by every new successor. For our purpose the importance of this title lies in the immense power which the Caliphate had achieved during the reign of Umar Khattab.

In the case of Usman Uffan and Ali b. Talib also the requirements of election and swearing of allegiance were fulfilled. These instances of the first four Caliphs of Islam, who are cited by the Sunni Muslim theosists jurists, and philosophers and historians as champions of the faith, there was some form of election. Besides in neither instance was there any question of hereditary succession, nor was the appointment of either of these Caliphs influenced by considerations of relationship.[1] The consequence obviously was that the fiction of election had always found a place in the works of Sunni legists, who accordingly even laid down the rules as to the qualifications of the electors.[2]

<u>Influence of Foreign Ideas on the Caliphate.</u>

The conquest of Persia by the Muslims provided the Arab mind with another set of concepts and memories. Grunebaum is of opinion that the appropriation of biblical history by Mohammad had put the Muslims at one end of development; the acquaintance with Persian history and institutions made the

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1. Arnold p.22.

2. Arnold, p.22.

Muslim state heir of another, and which while of slighter religious significance was of equal imaginative value, and whose lessons in statecraft considerably excelled those furnished by the edifying legends of scriptural origin.[1] In this newly evolved world, old beliefs and fine cultures had got mixed as well as fused and Hellenism had also stamped on them imprints, which were by no means superficial.[2]

The conquered people were in possession of a culture much superior to that of their conquerors, but the latter rose quickly to a realisation of the need for order in the 'government' of men and the enjoyment of things! perceiving that this must take place at a higher level than that reached in the development of religious thought.[3]

The Quran no longer served as a sufficient guide for the Muslim community brought into touch with new lands, new people and obviously new needs, whose realisation the rigidity of the text did not permit. Thus the need of a new code was felt, which was no doubt to be in harmony with the essential principles of the original one, but more supple and capable of modification and retraction.[4]

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1. Medeival Islam. p.3.

2. Demombynes, Eng. Trans. p.20.

3. Ibid, p. 25.

4. Demombynes, Eng. Trans. p. 21.

With such demands of the times and circumstances a considerable change will be observed in the character of Islamic institutions developed under the Umayyads, altered under the Abbasides as compared with the simple and elective character of the Caliphate of Medina existing during the time of Mohammad and the first four Caliphs.

Umayyads:-

With the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty in 661 A.D. and the change of the capital of the Caliphate to Damascus a distinct breach was marked in the pious tradition of the original converts to Islam, whose interest in Islam was as a body of doctrine and code of practice, then as a political organisation.[1] Muawiya introduced into the method of handing on the Caliphal office by election the idea of heredity - a conception that was yet foreign to Arab tradition.[2]

Moreover the Muslim empire, which in a few decades, had expanded from Khorasan and Sind to Morocco and Frankish gaul had neither a constitution nor a settled administration. The Caliph, representative of the Prophet and the Holy Law of the Muslim community, delegated his limitless powers to his agents to the provincial governers and army chiefs, to his tax-collectors and Qazis, whose respective duties were to ensure

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1. Arnold p.23.

2. Demombynes, Eng. Trans. p. 23. Barni shows full consciousness of this change vide. F.J. f. 223a.

the defence of his borders, to maintain civil peace, and to see to the regular collection of dues and the tribute. "It was a regime" says Demombynes, "That had neither traditions nor principles, and in which the energy and judgment of the chiefs took the place of formal regulations.[1] On the whole the general pattern of the Umayyad institutions of government was based on Arab traditions, which they had retained in spite of their intelligent adaptation to a novel situation. They are accused by Muslim historians of having secularised the supreme power in the very midst of Islam, and of having exploited the inheritance of the Muslim community for the benifit of their own kith and kin.[2]

Abbasides.

The accession of the Abbasides in 650 A.D. made possible largely through the support of Persian Muslims, brought to the forefront the humanly less attractive, but politically more impressive and adequate concept of kingship, to which the Iranians had been accustomed from their native rulers. "The prince, isolated from the uniform herd of his subjects, consecrated by divine designation for his office, legitimatised

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1. Eng. Trans. p.22.

2. Arnold, p. 25.

by his descent from a long line of kings, guarded by an elaborate etiquette devised to guard his person from defiling contact with the lowly crowd and to overawe the slaves over whom he had been set by the Lord of the Worlds --- this type of despot now merged successfully with the theocratic representative of Allah and much less with the Arab chief of old days"[1] "This legitmistic and pietistic absolutism supported by the cultural superiority of its Persian proponents", Grunebaum further adds, "became the order of the Muslim Caliphate and the principle of hereditary succession was soon admitted.[2]

But soon the Muslim empire of the Abbasid Caliphs broke asunder under the weight of geographical and historical necessity. In the tenth century all the Iranian provinces had finally broken away and it was the Iranian amirs, who came to Baghdad and took control of an impotent Caliph (946 A.D.). In 1056 A.D. the Turks, who had been employed as members of the Caliph's bodyguard seized Baghdad. The year 1258 A.D. witnessed the final extinction of the Caliphate of Baghdad at the hands of the Mongols.[3]

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1. Grunebaum, pp. 155 - 6.

2. Ibid.

3. Vide Demombynes, Eng. Trans. pp. 26-27.

With the weakness of the successive Abbasid Caliphs independent Muslim saltanats like the Buwayhid, the Tahirid, the Saffarid, the Samamid, the Ghaznavide, the Seljuk, the Ghorid and the Khwarazmian emerged. The credit of establishing a permanent empire in India -- The Sultanate of Delhi in A.D.1206 goes to Qutb ud-din Aibak, a slave of the Ghorid prince Shihab ud-din.

The Character of the Sultanate of Delhi:-

The three Muslim dynasties, which ruled India until Barni's times are classified as 1. Slave kings (1206-1290 A.D.). 2. The Khiljis (1290-1320 A.D.). 3. The Tughlaqs (1320-1388 A.D.)[1] Barni however did not survive until the fall of the Tughlaq dynasty.

The Sultanate of Delhi, though governed by Muslims cannot claim to be at par with the 'ideal Muslim state' as conceived by Barni. Indeed the Sultans of Delhi were far from living up to Barni's definition of a true Muslim ruler. None of these Sultans had consolidated and stabilised his power with a view to bringing glory to his religion -- a religion, which was being moulded by them to suit the exigencies of the time like their predecessors and contemporaries outside India. Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji, the greatest among the Muslim rulers of the Delhi Sultanate in whose reign the glory of the empire reached the

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1. For on account of these dynasties see Cambridge History of India vol. III. and Ishwari Prasad, Medeival India.

heightest pinnacle of its glory is even reported to have said " I do not know whether it is lawful (مشروع) or unlawful (نامشروع). I only order what I deem expedient."[1] Barni's ire is excited at such deviations from following the commands of Islam. Commenting upon the character of the same monarch he shows great astonishment at this monarch's audacity to abstain from the observance of obligatory religious prescriptions like praying and fasting.[2]

Another illustrious ruler of Delhi Sultanate Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq proves even more surprising to Barni on account of his insolence towards the Divine Law, his promotion of the lowly crowd to high offices of the Muslim state, encouragement of philosophical sciences, which are derogatory to the tenets of the faith and his leniency towards non-Muslims.[3]

These reactions of Barni to the character and conduct of the two most enlightened emporors of the Delhi Sultanate induced him to formulate his own rules of royal conduct. He, however, failed to appreciate the changing character of the Muslim empire in India from a religious theocracy to a secular institution. The practice and application of Jihad in a land, where the bulk of the population was non-Muslim, the strict suppression of rational learning and the rigid observance of religious prescriptions,

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1. T.F.S. pp. 289-292 and 304-319.

2. Ibid.

3. T.F.S. pp. 462-463, 465-466, 503-507.

would have only meant the weakening of the foundations of Muslim rule in India.

Understanding of this historical background to Barni's political theory will help in an appreciation of the political doctrines of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.

Section B.

Origin of Government:-

Barni's approach to this question is purely theological and is derived from Quranic sources. He states:-

"The creation of Adam and his progeny has been for the worship of the Everlasting God. The Almighty God says (in the Quran): "And I have not created the jin and the men except that they should worship Me'".[1]

But this worship of the Almighty, says Barni, could only be possible when the mankind was guaranteed peaceful conditions of life. A people suffering from want and chaos are not in a position to render due devotion to Him. Hence rulers were created by the Supreme Being in order that they keep the world organised and in good order.[2]

This reasoning of Barni suggests two fundamentals. First, God is the creator of the body-politic. Second, the body-politic was created as a means to an ulterior end - Divine worship.

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1. F.J. ff. 44b, 242a.
   Quran XXVI, LI, 56.

2. F.J. ff. 96b, 242b, 245a.

The first postulate of this theory implies that the origin of 'government' represented by the creation of rulers took place at a certain time of history. It is inter-linked with the origin of mankind, which suggests that social and political life started together. The Origin of 'government' is attributed to the Divine will. God made His will known to rulers who communicated it to mankind and exacted obedience from them. With this enforcement of order and obedience originated the institution of 'government'.

The second postulate implies that Barni's conception of the body-politic is utiltarian that is the means to an end. The body-politic was created by a specific Divine action, because it is the only agency which can enforce order and obedience. The establishment of civic law and order necessary for the peaceful observance of true religion rests entirely on the existence of an institution - an institution, which alone can guarantee a peaceful and secure life to people and that social relations are only possible under the protection of a coercive authority - the body-politic.[1]

Barni lays down further that the status of a ruler is in reality that of a deputy and lieutenant of God.[2] It is the Almighty whom alone rulership and government belong.[3]

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1. F.J. f. 96b.

2. Ibid f. 98b.
   also see ff. 104a, 189a.

3. Ibid f. 199a-b.

He is indeed the real sovereign of the state, but he appoints an earthly person as His vice-gerent, who exercises the duties of temporal rulership, and gives expression to the will of God. The end of all the political authority and action ultimately is the service of the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds.[1]

This theory of the origin of the body-politic as expounded by Barni firstly connects it with the Quranic conception of the origin of 'government'. According to the Quran, God, is the real Ruler of the world. His Law is supreme and man is only His vice-gerent. He appoints kings and magistrates from amongst the human species, whose duty is to enforce the Divine Law.[2]

Farabi, Mawardi, Nizim-ul-Mulk Tusi, Imam Ghazzali and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir[3] also hold the view that the body-politic is the handiwork of God wherein He entrusts His power to rule mankind. Hence it could be concluded that according to Barni the body-politic is neither the result of superior physical force, nor the creation of resolution or convention, nor a mere expansion of the family nor the outcome of the social instinct inherent in man and his spontaneous search after convenience, but it is the handiwork of God.

Depersonalisation of the Individual:-

To advocate the theory that the origin and justification of

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1. Ibid See ff. 242a-243b.

2. Quran 111, 25-26, XXV11, 62, XXXV1 27.

3. For example S.N.p.5. Also see p.15. Siyasat p.49, as cited by Sherwani, p.80. A.H. ff. 3a, b, 83b, 84a.

political institutions are solely dependent on their being the instruments of service to the Lord, completely depersonalises an individual. That man commands no personality of his own - he is like the pawns of chess in the hands of Divine destiny; his activities are directed towards one and only one end - the pleasure of his creator, are all sufficient proofs there in the Fatawa-i-jahandari, that the existence, the will and the activity of an individual have all been made subservient to the Divine Will. But it is not Barni alone, who is advocating this theory, but rather it is in consonance with the general trend of the medieval Muslim political theory. It therefore appears desirable to discuss its roots at some length.

The Quran, which is considered by a 'believer' to be the 'Word of God', and which serves as the basis of all Muslim thinking and action, professes slight esteem for man.[1] In order to impress upon the individual his lowliness of physical origin the Quran describes his genesis in detail.[2] Thus from his very origin man is forbidden any pretensions to glory. He is formed of mean matter, he is weak and insensitive at birth, and is kept going in his precarious existence only by the will

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1. Grunebaum in his Medieval Islam very ably discusses this question and comes to the conclusion that there is no independent will of the individual. Vide chap, Human Ideal p.221.

2. Cit. Grunebaum p.223, Quran 23: 12-14, wherein it is laid down:-
   We have created man of an extract of clay;
   Then we made him a drop in a receptacle sure;
   Then we created the morsel bones,
   And we clothed the bones with flesh,
   Then we produced him another creature....

of the Almighty. "And what is his end, reflects the eminent Hujjat-ul-Islam, Imam Ghazzali -- death reducing him to the nameless insensibility of his beginnings and subjecting him to repelling decay.[1]

But man can overcome his creaturely frailty in one experience - 'one beautific moment of repose in God, when the soul sours past its bodily confinement, away from its prison of corporeal individuality into the light of the One, where it reaches infinity by losing its identity'. Thus the mystical teacher, the prophet, the king, the poet, and even the beggar, says Grunebaum, are important according to Muslim Theology and Philosophy not for what thay are as individuals, but for what they signify in the great order of beings.[2]

Barni in his Fatawa-i-Jahandari reflects a full consciousness of the insignificance of an individual and fosters in full the theory that his creation and existence are justified only with reference to his acts of divine worship and service to religion.

Conception of human nature:-

According to Barni the essential elements of human nature are - malice, jealousy, envy, wrath and evil. Man is always prompted by the desire to strive after personal aggrandisement.[3]

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1. Ihya, Chap. 29 as cited by Grunebaum, p. 222.

2. Medeival Islam, p. 222.

3. F.J. ff. 2a, 145a, 194a.

Evil is inherent in his very nature, and he constantly looks for the appeasement of his sensual self. His overpowering ambition so overcomes him that he fears no consequences, and throws himself into burning fire in order to attain his self good. But there are two classes of human beings who are created by the Almighty quite distinct from the generality of mankind, and they are Prophets and Saints.[1] Prophets, says Barni are exceptions to the general rule and they are created holy and free from human blemishes. The basic human instincts e.g. malice and evil are not at all found in their characters. The other category of men to whom the essentials of human nature do not apply are the Saints. Saints are guarded by God against evil and malice of human nature after attaining to Saintship. Unlike Prophets, they are not created pure from their very birth and thus are not immune from the commission of sin, but that they are protected by the Lord.

Although these two classes of men exist in society, yet Barni says they come within the law of exceptions, because divine favour casts its shadow upon them specially and prevents them from going astray. As a rule man is a lover of evil, and this sin he inherited from his ancestor Adam.[2]

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1. Ibid f. 2a.

2. F.J. f. 145a.

In excluding prophets and saints from the category of the general mankind, Barni was giving expression to the mystic's theory of human nature, current in Barni's times among the Chishtiya sufis. For example Sheikh Ali Hajweri in his famous work, Kashaf ul-Mahjub makes this statement.[1]

Barni's picture of human nature is essentially selfish and perverse. Morality and virtue do not dwell within him by instinct Only an outside human agency coerces men to live a life of law and order. In this pessimistic conception of human nature, Barni has been preceded as well as succeeded by many medieval Muslim writers on 'Government'. To take a near example Fakhr-i-Mudabbir preceding Barni by over a century expresses similar ideas. In fact he goes further by stating that had there been no political authority, one man would have swallowed his fellow-beings.[2] Hence for Fakhr-i-Mudabbir the security of human life, liberty and property is dependent on the Institution of government. Among Barni's successors Mohammad Baqir the author of Muizzat-i-Jahangiri comes very close to Barni's reflections on the pervisity of human nature, and draws a gloomy picture of the evils of human life.[3] The Qabus Nama also shows similar

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1. Chap. 111, on Sufisim, Nich, Trans, p. 30.

2. A.M. MS. f. 83b.

3. MS. I.O. 1866 f. 37a and b.

reflections.[1] But in the writings of some Medieval Muslim writers this theory does not find a justification. Ibn Abir-Rabi a famous political thinker of the 9th century, enlightens us on this point, and his theory, when studied in the light of history does prove more convincing. In his 'Suluk', he states that every living being created by God falls into two categories - the higher and the lower. Of all the living creatures, man is the only one who is possessed of all the superior complexes, and the faculty of the keen perception of probable consequences. He tries to attain to the highest position in life. He is endowed with thought andjudicious discretion. He, being a thinking animal, has naturally two chief faculties - the thinking faculty and the animal faculty.[2]

In comparison with Barni's selfish man, the pen picture of Ibn Abir-Rabi seems more accurate historically. Barni appears to have drawn such a pessimistic view of human nature in order to sanctify the institution of Monarchy, and to emphasise that in the absence of political authority, no safety of life, liberty and property is possible.

Laws of Social and Political Development:-

Barni starts with the initial pre-supposition, that society

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1. Qabus Nama printed text 1951, p. 86.

2. pp. 7, 24,, 75, as Cit. by Sherwani, Muslim Political Thought and Administration, pp. 48-50. See Akhlaq-i-Nasiri MS. I.O. 3549 ff. 177a-178a, where the author emphasises over the gregarious instinct of man.

and government had a coterminous origin. He states that God the Almighty in order to establish His kingdom on earth, where humanity could worship Him conferred the status of Prophethood on Shis, the eldest son of Prophet Adam, who through his teachings and sermons may lead the people on the path of the Lord, and his twin brother Kaimurs was entrusted with temporal rulership, so that he could guarantee peaceful conditions of life to mankind.[1] From this coterminous origin of society and state it can be inferred that there was no pre-social or pre-political human existence. So the laws of social development which Barni lays down do not apply to the "Solitary" man, but to man living in society and under the protection of government.

Barni's theory of social evolution is of a dynamic and not of a static character. He says, God the Almighty inspired men with all the various requisite arts and crafts, because man desires the satisfaction of his every day needs. To some men God gave the skill of carpentry, to some horsemanship, to others arts and letters and so forth. Men endowed with these skills struggled for their improvement and slowly and gradually brought these arts to the highest stage of development. This social progress took place by means of human co-operation. One man alone cannott satisfy his needs, and hence requires the assistance of his fellow beings.[2]

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1. F.J. ff. 18b, 242b - 243a.

2. F.J. f. 216a - b.

Two inferences can be drawn from this theory. Firstly, that social co-operation is the basic law of a human society. Barni's natural man, who was by very temperament self-centred and self-seeking, starts to lead a life of co-operation with the birth of society, and lives as an essential part of the social whole.

This notion of the instinct of sociability in man is found in the writings of other medieval Muslim writers on government[1] for example, Ibn Abir Rabi and Ghazzali, and it appears as if Barni has almost built up his theory of co-operation on those of his predecessor's. Ibn Abir Rabi states:

"Man is so created that he cannot fulfil his wants by himself and needs others help for the purpose. A carpenter wants certain of his necessities to be made by the blacksmith, the blacksmith needs help from workers in mines, the latter from labourers and so on that every industry is dependent on others. If man had been able to satisfy all his wants by himself, there would have been no need for mutual help and co-operation, and it is really this action and inter-action of wants, which fixes wages, prices, profits and loss and all other economic phenomens.[2]

This law of human society also finds expression in the writings

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1. Ihya-ul-Ulum III, 6, v. "Man is so created, that he cannot lead a secluded life.......he needs company for the sake of procreation...... It is in the nature of things that there should be co-operation, cited by Sherwani, pp. 157-8.

2. Suluk p. 175, cit. by Sherwani, p. 49.

of Farabi,[1] and Nasir ud-din Tusi[2] who unanimously foster the idea of social amalgamation in human society. Human needs necessitate struggle, which expresses itself in the invention of new arts and culminates in their perfection by human intelligence. Hence human society is guided by progressive laws of social development, which are of a dynamic character.

Barni also depicts the different forms the body-politic has assumed in the distant past. The idea of body-politic beginning with the birth of Kaimurs, who was the first ruler of the inhabited world, his descendants assumed rulership in the different regions of the world. The office of temporal kingship was entrusted to him and his progeny, who continued to exercise ruling authority.[3] So the distinguishing features of the first formation of body-politic are two - it was oecumenical in form opposed to the notion of various separate states. Secondly monarchy was heredirary in character. This traditional conception of the monarchical and hereditary character of body-politic is also supported by the writings of Barni's predecessors like Imam Tabari, Minhaj us Siraj, and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and his successor Mir Khond, who in his voluminous history Rauzat us-Safa

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1. From his very nature it is incumbent on Man to live in society Siyasat p. 37, Ara. p.77, as cited by Sherwani p. 75.

2. He defines Society as the association of Man with his fellow-beings. A.N. ff. 177a - 178a.

3. F.J. ff. 18b, 242b.

traces the origin of political life from Kaimurs.[1]

Barni refers to different types of states in the distant past. The first type of state as we have already seen comprised of the whole inhabited earth. The second types of states to which Barni refers were the ancient monarchical empires of Ajam, Byzantium, Yamen, India, Syria and Egypt.[2] In these states the monarch was the chief controlling factor. The fundamental principle of these empires was the hereditary character of kingship. The ruling power was confined to one particular house, and hence they did not fall a victim to any mal-administration. The heads of states being of royal noble blood, so they regulated the state-business in the most proficient of ways.

The third type of state, which Barni describes, was the city-state of Medina governed by Mohammed on the basis of Quranic Law. After Mohammad government devolved upon the four Orthodox Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Umar Khattab, Usman Uffan and Ali b.Talib. The character of this state was entirely different from the oecumenical empire of Kaimurs and the ancient territorial states. It was not a '<u>saltanat</u>', but a '<u>khilafat</u>', which was governed by Mohammad and his four successors - the Orthodox Caliphs. Barni says that there was no distinction between before the law between ruler and ruled, and decisions

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1. Raverty T.B. p.2.
   R.S. Vol.1 Part 1, p.230. Eng. Trans. Rehatesk. A.M.f.2b.

2. F.J. f. 222b.

were taken after ascertaining the consensus of opinion. The Caliph was not endowed with any special prerogatives, and nor was he either in his dress or living distinguishable from an ordinary citizen of the state.[1]

But this simple and elective character of the Caliphate changed with the accession of Yazid, the son of Muawiyah, the founder of the Umayyad Caliphate, and Marwan the fourth Omayyad Caliph, who introduced the system of hereditary succession to the throne of the Muslim Caliphate.[2] Another fundamental change, which the body-politic underwent after the termination of the rule of the four Orthodox Caliphs was the abandonment of the life of poverty and privation by the head of the Muslim Caliphate and the adoption of the ways of the pre Muslim Persian kings - the Sasanid emporors. The Caliphs commenced the practice of the traditions of these kings in their private and public life with the paraphernalia of large harems, possession of enormous treasures and army, and a luxurious court life. The servile custom of prostration before the Caliph came to be in vogue as a direct imitation of the traditions of Khusraus, and thus the status of the Caliph was exalted above his subjects.[3] But this transition of the body-politic from the simple character of the

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1. F.J. ff. 49b - 50b, 87b, 88a and b, 98a and b, 161a.
2. Ibid f. 223a.
3. F.J. f. 99a and b.

Caliphate of Prophet Mohammad and his four successors to the hereditary Caliphate of the Umayyads and the Abbasides was a natural phenomena, says Barni, because it was only possible for the four Orthodox Caliphs to discharge the heavy responsibilities of government by leading an ascetic life. This miraculous combination of 'dominion' with 'poverty' was only made available to them, since due to the blessings of Prophet Mohammad's government, there had appeared a moralising spirit in human character. In spite of this, three out of the four Orthodox Caliphs received martyrdom at the hands of rebels.[1] Barni's conclusions thus are, government and rulership would not have been possible for the later Caliphs of Islam without adopting traditions of monarchy, diametrically opposed to the Sunnah of Prophet Mohammad, and warring mankind can only be brought under the yoke of subjection by awe-inspiring and powerful monarchs.[2]

Barni in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari next gives his reflections on the independent sultanates, which emerged up in the ninth century of the Christian era. The Abbasid Caliphate gave way to such kingdoms as the Buwayyih, the Tahirid, the Saffarid, the Samanid, the Ghaznavide, the Seljuk, the Khwarazmian, and the empire of Delhi. It appears from Barni's tone that his aim of investigation is not the Caliphate, but the independent Sultanates, which supplanted it. However in the distant past he traces

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1. Ibid f. 98a and b.

2. Ibid ff. 100a and b, 101a.

the existence of five types of states - the oecumenical empire of Kaimurs, the ancient Eastern monarchies, the Caliphate of Medina, the Caliphate of the Omayyads and the Abbasids and the independent Saltanates.

Evaluating Barni's description of the different types of states in the past it appears that his knowledge was confined to the governmental organisations of those countries only where either Muslim conquests had penetrated, or about whom contemporary Muslim literature had partly traditional and partly historical knowledge. Barni's very conception of the origin of body-politic with the birth of Kaimurs is based on tradition. To quote Professor Browne, Kaimurs, the first king of the legendary Pishdadi dynasty, is the first man of the Avesta, Gayo Mareta, the Zorastrian Adam.[1] Hence Barni in his reflections on the different forms of states in the past, is only representing the opinion prevalent in Muslim circles of his times.

Section C.

The Aim and purpose of Government.

According to Barni the exclusive aim and purpose of 'government' is the protection and the propogation of the Right Religion, Islam.[2] The aim of all political activity is to bring

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1. Lit. Hist. vol. 1. p. 112

2. F.J. 'Religion' says Barni 'is the substance and real object of all endeavour'
   F.J. 231a.

glory to Islam.[1] But in order to establish True Religion, the body-politic must secure the moral, social, economic and political well-being of the subjects. It is only through the institution of government that these needs - be they ethical, social, economic or political - are realised.[2] Thus the body-political exists as the means for satisfying the requirements of the subjects with a view to enabling tham to fulfil their duties of divine worship. This alone justifies its creation by the Almighty.[3] This notion of the aim and purpose of the body-politic is derived by Barni from the Quranic and Hadis sources.[4]

Comparing Barni's theory of the aim and purpose of 'government' with the general trend of medieval Muslim writers on 'government' like Ibn-i-Abir Rabi, Mawardi, Kaiqaus, Fakhr-i-Muddabir, Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa and Fazl Isfahani, a good deal of similarity in thought is found.[5]

Barni and these medieval Muslim political thinkers emphasise on the welfare of subjects only in relation to the 'good' of

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1. F.J.f. 122b, wherein Barni asserts - 'The basic object of a king must be the glorification of Mohammad's Creed'.

2. Vide. F.J. f. 56a, 'God has made the whole world dependent on his (ruler's) gate and made his gate the qibla for the realisation of the necessities of the people'.

3. F.J. ff. 1b, 7a, 45b, 58a, 157a, 242b.

4. Quran 38: 26. Bukhari, 11, 11 as cited Mohd Ali, Manual of Hadis, Chap 'State'.

5. See for example A.S. Urdi. edi. Intro pp. 1-2.
   Suluk-ul-Muluk, ff. 13a, 19a.
   Adab-ul-Harb, ff. 3a, 84a.
   A.N. Eng. Trans. p. 11.

the Right Religion i.e. as a means to an ulterior end and not as an end in itself. The emphasis on the temporal duties and functions of 'government' which we will be surveying later, is found only in relation to this religious end, which pervades their political thought.

Section D.

Grounds of Political Obligation:-

Barni and other medieval Muslim writers on 'Government' like Mawardi, Nizam ul-Mulk, Ghazzali, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Ali Shihab Hamadani and Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa do not treat this subject explicitly, but their ideas on the question are often implicit in their discussion of other problems.

In some places in the Fatawa-i-Jahamdari, Barni lays down the mutual duties of the rulers and the subjects, and from such statements the grounds of political obligation of the subjects towards the state can be investigated. The ruler according to Barni is entitled to the following rights from his subjects - submission, obedience and loyalty.[1] On the other hand the subjects are entitled to pardon, forgiveness, veiling of faults, connivance at their wrongs, very great support, compassion, kindness and protection from the king.[2] When both the parties discharge their obligations properly, the affairs of state and the business of government are carried on smoothly and organised properly.

Barni appears to be fully conscious of the fact that it is

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1. F.J.f. 145b.

2. Ibid f. 145b.

only in a world of rights that duties can be dreamt of. Rights and duties in other words are the two sides of the same coin.

But we must keep in mind that the nature of the rights of the subjects from their rulers differs from that of the rights of the rulers from their subjects. The difference manifests itself in the case of the ruler's rights as being legal. For example if the subjects fall short in rendering obedience to their rulers, they deserve a legal punishment for their crime. For disobedience to the ruler is disobedience to Mohammad, the messenger of God, and disobedience to him in turn is disobedience to God Himself. Thus Mohammad is reported to have said:-

"Whosoever obeys me, obeys God, and whosoever rebels against me, rebels against God; whosoever obeys the ruler, obeys me; and whosoever rebels against the ruler, rebels against me."[1]

In the case of the rights of the subjects from their rulers, they appear to have an ethical sanction.[2] Barni for example nowhere mentions that in the case of the default of rulers in discharging their obligations towards their subjects, they must be punished by the subjects or tried by any judicial authority. In this case an appeal of the subjects only lies to the Supreme Creator, whose vicegerents the Caliphs and Sultans are. A very

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1. Kanz 111, nr. 2999 as cit. by Arnold, Caliphate p.48.

2. See Prof. Lambton, Art on Nasihat ul-Muluk, Isl. Qua. Apr. 1954.

oft-quoted hadis is illuminating on this point. Mohammad said:

"After me will come rulers: render them your due obedience, for the ruler is like a shield wherewith a man protects himself; if they (ruler's) are righteous and rule you well they shall have their reward; but if they do evil and rule you ill, then punishment will fall upon them and you will be quit of it, for they are responsible for you, but you have no responsibility."[1]

The Quran also envisages obedience to rulers:

"Obey Allah, obey the Messenger, and those in authority amongst you."[2]

The Quran at the same time directs the rulers to govern with justice and strictly instructs them against the pursuance of their selfish desires.[3]

These Quranic injunctions, when interpreted by the Muslim theologians and thinkers, they give the following effect. To use Barni's own interpretation, the subjects are duty bound to render unquestioned obedience to rulers, whom he assigns the omnipotent status of the 'Shadow of God', and this gives monarchy a divine sanction.[4] About ruler's regard for his subjects, Barni states:

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1. Kanz, III nr. 2580, cited by Arnold, Caliphate, p. 48.

2. Quaran 4: 59.

3. Ibid, 38:26.

4. F.J. ff. 195a, 231b, 234a and b.

"Man is a building of God and he should be properly looked after by the ruler.[1] A ruler, who fails to do so will be a most ungrateful wretch. If he fails to recognise the real merit of this bounty (rulership) of the Almighty, he will be cast into the innermost pit of hell.[2]

These statements of Barni and those of his fellow thinkers sharing similar views again suggest[3] that appeal against the unjust rulers only lies to Allah. A tradition of Mohammad will again clarify the point under discussion.

Mohammad said:

"Obey your rulers whatever may happen for if they bid you do anything different to what I have taught you, they shall be punished for it, and you will be rewarded for your obedience; and if they bid you do anything different to what I have taught you, the resposibility is theirs and you are quit of it. When you meet God (on the Day of Judgment) say: "O Lord Thou didst send us prophets and we obeyed them by Thy permission, and set over us Caliphs and we obeyed them by Thy permission and our rulers gave us orders and we obeyed them for Thy sake." And God will answer: "Ye speak the truth; theirs is the responsibility

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1. Ibid f. 250a.

2. Ibid ff. 56a, 93a, 94a, 104a.

3. See A.M. ff. 52 & 51a. S.M. f. 56b.
   Al Fakhri, trans Whitting, pp. 27-33 He states the mutual duties of rulers and their subjects.

and you are quit of it"[1].

"The political Theory thus enunciated", says Dr. Arnold, "appears to imply that according to Mediaeval Muslim thinkers all earthly authority is by divine appointment and the duty of the subjects is to obey whether the ruler is just or unjust, for responsibility rests with God, and the only satisfaction that the two subjects can have is that God will punish the unjust ruler for his wicked deeds, even as He will reward the righteous monarch."[2]

Al Ghazzali's interesting justification of obedience to ruling authority helps us in understanding Barni's grounds of political obligation on the part of subjects. Al Ghazzali observes:

"There are those, who hold that 'Imamate' is dead, lacking as it does the required qualifications. But no substitute can be found for it. What then?. Are we to give up obeying the law? Shall we dismiss the qazis, declare all authority to be valueless, cease marrying and pronounce the acts of those in high places to be invalid at all points, leaving the populace to live in sinfulness? Or shall we continue as we are, recognising that the 'Imamate' really exists and that all acts of the administration are valid, given the circumstances of the case and the

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1. Kanz, III, nr. 3008 as cit by Arnold, Caliphate pp. 48 - 49.
2. Arnold, p. 49. Also see Grunebaum, p. 168.

and the necessities of the moment."[1]

Al Ghazzali gives his reasoning further on this subtle point thus:

"The concessions made by us are not spontaneous, but necessity makes lawful what is forbidden. We know it is not allowed to feed on a dead animal; still, it would be worse to die of hunger. Of those that contend that the Caliphate is dead for ever, and irreplaceable, we should like to ask: Which is it to be preferred, anarchy and the stoppage of social life for lack of a properly constituted authority, or acknowledgment of the existing power whatever it be ?. Of these two alternatives, the jurists cannot but choose the latter".[2]

Barni like his predecessor in this instance seems to be fully conscious of the change in the character of Islamic political institutions and he shows full reverence to ruling sovereigns by laying considerable emphasis on the subject's unhesitating obedience to them, and side by side also admonishes them to show compassion to their flock. By avoiding the justification of rebellion against an unjust ruler, Barni is apt to turn his rulers into despots and autocrats, which in fact the rulers of

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1. Vide Levy, Sociology, op cit. 1. 306, cit Grunebaum, p. 168.
2. Cited Grunebaum, p. 168.

of his times in Medieval Muslim India were.

Section E.

Barni's Theory of Religious Inequality Among Muslims and Non-Muslims and Social Inequality among Muslims themselves.

Barni's repeated insistence on a good Muslim ruler's care for his people leads us to examine his usage of the term 'people'. It will be seen that Barni has drawn very sharp lines of distinction among the inhabitants of a Muslim king's realm and he has constantly urged his ideal rulers to be fully cognisant of the respective position and status of his subjects. Indeed he has devoted three exclusive Nasihats to the question and touches upon this subject at various other places throughout the Fatawa-i-Jahandari.[1]

The pen-picture of an ideal kingdom in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari is of a religious state - a state which has been brought into existence solely on account of religious considerations. According to Barni the truest of all religions and hence the best religion is Islam. Islam must be established and maintained throughout the length and breadth of the globe.[2] But how is this end to be achieved? It has a

1. See Nasihat Vl f. 54b. Nasihat XIX, f. 204b. Nasihat XXI, f. 216a in particular, which state a king's regard for his subjects in view of their status.

2. F.J. ff. 17a, 118a, 197a.

a very clear and definite answer to this query. The success and permanence of Islam, depends entirely on the person and character of Muslim rulers. A devout and true ruler of Islam is only that person who clings to the conviction - the opponents and molestors of the 'True Faith' should be exterminated.[1] If their radical destruction is beyond achievement because of their overwhelming numbers, the Muslim ruler is duty bound to keep them in subjection and suppression.[2]

The molestors and the enemies of Islam are found to be divided into several major and minor categories in the Fatawa-i Jahandari. The non-Muslim population of a Muslim ruler's realm in general has been placed in the major category. All these people are deprived of the enjoyment of political rights - appointment to governmental posts and even to non-governmental ones is completely refused to them.[3] They are permitted, that is tolerated, in the Muslim state simply from the force of necessity and dint of circumstances. Economically and socially they are allowed to survive only, but not permitted to thrive and flourish. Ǧizya is levied on them in order to reduce them to economic destitution and side by side the ever alive consciousness of social inferiotiry must always haunt their minds.[4]

1. Ibid. ff. 9b, 11b, 12 a-b, 119a.
2. The Nasihat Xl, f 117a, rotates round this principle.
3. F.J. ff 205b, 206a.
4. Ibid f. 118b.

Among non-Muslims, Barni has also maintained a careful distinction. Though he preaches Jihad against all of them, in the actual manner of treatment, meted out to them by the Muslim state, he makes some distinctions. The worst non-Muslims are idolators and unbelievers - worst in the sense, that no Heavenly Book[1] and no Prophet has been sent to them. As Barni was writing in Indian background, where the mass of a Muslim ruler's subjects were Hindus, he obviously places them in the category of the worst enemies of Islam, from whom he visualises a perpetual danger to the 'Faith'. He describes them in a very scornful tone - 'they are the worshippers of cow-dung and idols - they are more insignifcant than the clods of earth.'[2] His true Muslims cannot tolerate their very sight. He reproaches them, detests them and deals with them relentlessly. But their enormous numbers in the lands of 'Hind' and 'Sind' operates as a check on their being a prey to the 'Ghazi's' and 'Mujahids' sword. They are spared life, but no other privilege is sanctioned for them - they are permitted a mere existence.

The other variety of non-Muslims, are the Ahl-i-Kitab, the 'People of the Book' - the Jews and the Christians. 'Holy War' has to be waged against them also, as it is one of the

1. F.J. f. 119b, Also see f. 12a.
2. Ibid

fundamental obligations of Barni's true Muslim ruler's faith.[1] They are to be kept in subjection, and the levy of Jizya operates in their case also. In their social position they are considered slightly superior to the idolaters. In the time of need Muslim men are permitted to enter into matrimonial relations with them.[2]

It can safely be inferred from this brief survey of Barni's treatment of non-Muslims in his ideal Muslim state, that the position awarded to them in society is one of insignificance and humiliation. Hence the ruler's duty to exercise regard for their welfare is out of the question. In brief Barni's ideal state can aptly be defined as a state of the Muslims, by the Muslims and for the Muslims.

But when Barni's theory of social distinctions among the Muslims is brought to light it will be observed that this definition stands subject to criticism, because of the narrow use of the term 'Muslim' by Barni. Among the followers of Islam Barni makes a threefold distinction - Muslims belonging to non-sunni sects - the Shiites and the rational and

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1. It is not Barni alone, who preaches Jihad against non-Muslims, but also other medieval Muslim writers on government. For ex: see, A.H. Chap 25, Oh Jihad and Ghazz, f.151b. Also Fazl Isfahani, chap.On Jihad, f. 148a.

2. F.J. f. 180a. This is not Barni's independent reasoning, but he is just suggesting what Islamic law has laid down.

philosophical sect of Muslims - the Mutazilites. The two latter sections of Muslims do not fulfil Barni's religious specifications for a 'Believer' i.e., his true religious convictions as Barni conceived them. He admonishes his ideal Muslim ruler to make life sour for all non-Sunnis and particularly the Mutazilites, because they do not share the view that to God belongs the cognisance of all things that Quran is uncreate, and that the dead will rise from their graves on the Day of Judgment.[1] Such injurious notions, which are repugnant to the teachings of Sunni Islam have to be sternly suppressed and their promulgators, preachers and followers are to be persecuted by the true Muslim ruler. In order to portray the zeal of his sovereigns for exterminating the Mutazilites, Barni refers to Sultan Mahmud's inhuman intentions about Abu Ali Sina, the well-known Muslim physician and thinker of eleventh century. Had he been caught by Sultan Mahmud, says Barni, he would have been torn to pieces and his flesh supplied as a tasty meal for kites.[2]

The sunni Muslims alone possess the right religion - Din-i-Hanifi,[3] for whose establishment Barni's ideal Muslim ruler should strive heart and soul. Since the eponymous hero of the Fatawa-i-Jahandari was Sultan Mahmud, who professed the

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1. F.J. f. 121a.
2. Ibid. ff. 10b - 11a.
3. Ibid. For exa. see f. 125a.

Shafiite sect of Sunni Islam,[1] Barni then could not have glorified the Hanafite sect of Sunnis.

The Sunni subjects of the ideal Muslim state, who alone have been held by Barni to cherish the 'right religion' are again classified into different categories according to their moral virtues and social status. Barni makes the right to enter the governmental hierarchy an exclusive privilege of those Sunni Muslim subjects, who are of high birth and noble lineage.[2] Barni is clearly a great believer in heredity. Even in determining the religious status of a Sunni Mussalman, he holds in greater esteem those, who receive this creed from their fore-fathers. "Virtue and capacity," says Barni, dwell among those alone, who are sons of the well-born.[3] A humble man and obscure man is by the very law of nature incapable of displaying virtuous conduct. If such a person by chance happens to be possessed of good qualities of character, surely, Barni argues, there must have been some co-mingling of noble blood in a previous generation.[4]

Another important distinction, that Barni maintains very sharply is the determination of the position of an individual in society through his hereditary profession. He looks with

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1. Ibid. f. 122.
2. Ibid. Nasaih XIX and XX1 are exclusively devoted to this particular subject-matter.
3. Ibid. f. 217 a and b.
4. Ibid. f. 218b.

contempt at farming, agriculture, carpentry, weaving and similar other crafts.[1] The offsprings of merchants, shop-keepers and the like are called by Barni as bad born, low-born and humble born. They are not to aspire for learning - religious or secular, but instead are to be restricted to their own respective hereditary professions through the direct action of the state.

It is thus concluded from Barni's theory of social distinctions among Muslims that in the first instance 'right religious belief' determines the position of an individual in society, and in the second birth and lineage form the chief qualifications of a subject and which enable him to enter the royal bureaucracy enjoying manifold privileges at the hands of the sovereign. For the Muslims of the lower strata of society only a right to life and property is granted and not the right to opportunity of self-development and self-expression.

Barni's doctrines fostering social inequality among Muslims and religious inequality among Muslims and non-Muslims do not strike as inconsistent, when evaluated in the wide background of past Islamic history. According to the Quran all 'believers' are equal, except for such distinctions as are established by their greater or lesser piety.[2]

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1. F.J. ff 220b - 222b. Here Barni quotes an anecdote about Sultan Mahmud to prove the validity of his thesis.

2. 49: 13. Levy op cit. 1, 78.

Mohammad is reported to have uttered : "And this is my last advice unto you - you are of one brotherhood...... even if a Negro slave .... leads you aright, follow him."[1]

But in another Tradition Mohammad is reported to have said:

"The Immams shall be of the Qureish."[2]

The second Caliph Umar Khattab although preserving the fundamental assumptions of Islam levelling all distinctions of birth insisted on an two fold distinction among the 'believers' - kinship with Mohammad and the state of conversion to Islam deciding the standing of a Muslim.[3]

Alongside this idea of religious aristocracy in Islam other concepts of the structure of society compelled acceptance. The Umayyads are well-known for their partiality to their Arab kinsmen. The distinction between the Arab Muslims and the Muslim converts of Persian origin - the Mawalis is also a very historic one. "The Barmakid Wazir Fazl Yahya (disgraced in 803 A.D.) under the Abbasids, says Grunebaum, "is reported to have brought a fourfold division among mankind."[4]

"Society in medieval Muslim World", remarks Grunebaum, "was intersected by four principal lines of division - the first separating the Muslim from the non-Muslim, second,

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1. vide E and D Rev. Edn. vol.11, p.2.
2. vide Arnold, p. 47.
3. vide Grunebaum, p. 171. Also Hitti, p. 172
4. Med. Isl. p. 171.

setting apart the several religious groups within Islam, third, marking off the different nationalities undited under Islam, and the last delimiting the more narrowly social distinctions that assigned people to a more or less definite hierarchy of professions".[1]

Of these distinctions, the most incisive in Islam was the barrier that separated the believer and the unbeliever. Among these unbelivers, the idolaters are, in principle, excluded from the Dar-ul-Islam. No true peace is possible between Muslims and infidels.[2] The Imam of the Muslim community has the duty of carrying on the Jihad against the infidels in order to compel them to accept the Muslim faith, of reducing them to slavery, of exterminating them, or maybe to enforce the payment of tribute.[3] It is a compulsory duty on all Muslims (فرض الكفاية).[4] "This absolute and theoretical conception," says Demombóynes, "could not resist the power of facts and juridical expedients had to be found."[5]

The status of Zimmis (protected people) was awarded to the non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state subject to the

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1. Med. Isl. p. 177.
2. Shorter Enc. of Isl: pp.68-69,89.
3. vide Tritton, The Calips and their non-Muslim subjects,p.127.
4. Shorter Enc. of Isl: p. 89.
5. p. 117.

the payment of jizya (poll-tax) by them in order to be aware of their state of humiliation.[1]

In the wide context of social and religious inequality found throughout Islamic history, Barni's views on the subject cannot be set aside as the creation of his personal prejudice. Though contemporary official attitude of the Delhi sultanate was not one of extreme hatred and intoleration towards the non-Muslim populace of the state, yet Barni being a true representative of the typical Sunni Ulema class is quite justified in formulating his religious views concerning the problem under discussion.

1. Aghnides, chap. vii. p. 398.

Section F.

Organisation of Government:-

Barni preaches the theory of monarchical form of government in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari. His ideal state is composed of a king and his bureaucracy, which assists him in the efficient performance of his duties as a monarch. The following statements of Barni scattered throughout the work will enable us to form a coherent picture of his ideal Muslim ruler:

Position of the king:-

The king is the pivotal figure in Barni's ideal state. He is the deputy, the vice-gerent and the Shadow of God.[1] The office of the sovereign (اولالامر) is the highest of all offices. He is appointed by God as a protector of His creatures. The responsibilities of a king thus are very heavy indeed. Even angels like Gabriel and Michael show helplessness at the very question of regulating the state-business. The sky in spite of its majesty and greatness, refuses to bear the heavy burden of the world.[2] The awe and glory of the king's office is thus unique. How very strange it appears to the human mind that one man from amongst the sons of Adam is elevated by the Almighty to such a venerable office. Looking outwardly a king seems exactly like the rest of mankind, but in essence he is vested with the authority of temporal rulership and sovereignty over the rest of mankind.[3] He

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1. F.J. ff.59b, 80b, 104a and b, 117a and b, 187a,199a and b,205a
2. Ibid f. 106b.
3. Ibid ff. 104a, 157a and b.

issues commands, and the entire world prostrates before him, and renders whole-hearted obedience to him. By virtue of his very independent character, the monarch is a god on earth and is a wonder of creation.[1]

Barni's views about the nature, appointment and authority of rulers are shared by other medieval Muslim writers on government, for example Ibn Abir-Rabi, who emphasises over the supremacy of a single sovereign in the land;[2] Farabi, who advocates that there should be no human superior over the head of the Rais-i-Awwal (chief head);[3] Ghazzali, who stresses on the utmost importance of having a ruler at the helm of affairs,[4] and Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi, Kaiqaus, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, and Mohammad Baqir Najm us-Sani.[5]

From the above remarks of Barni about the position and status of the ideal king, the following distinguishing features of the supreme ~~executive~~ power, i.e. Sovereignty can be deduced.

(1) Single human superior:

The sovereign power is vested in an individual as opposed to a body of persons or the general will of the political society.

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1. Ibid f. 168b.
2. Suluk p. 103.
3. Siyasat p.49, Ara.f.48. as cit. by Sherwani, pp. 79-80.
4. Ihya-ul-Ulum. 111, 6.v as cited by Sherwani p. 160.
5. S.N. p.5. Q.N. p.132, A.M. ff. 3a and b, 11b, 83b. M.J. ff. 8a and b. 9a. Also see Akhlaq-i-Nasiri p. 100 Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa, pp. 20-21.

(2) Permanence:-

The sovereignty of the state is permanent in the sense that as long as the state exists, sovereignty continues without interruption. If at any time sovereignty is lost, the structure of state itself ceases to exist. There might be a change in the bearer of government or a revolution might change the organisation of state, but that would mean only a transfer of sovereignty, not its cessation. The idea can best be expressed through the maxim - the king is dead, long live the King!

(3) Indivisibility:-

Barni advocates a mono-sovereign state. There can be but one sovereign power in the state. If there are two rulers in a state, they will challenge each other's authority.

(4) All comprehensiveness:-

Every individual and every association of individuals are subject to the sovereign power of the political authority.

(5) Inalienability:-

The sovereignty of the state is inalienable. There could be a transfer of the power of exercising sovereignty from one person to another, but it would not mean a parting of the sovereign power by the state.

(6) Absolutism:-

The sovereign is absolute in the sense that he is empowered by God to frame any law he finds necessary for the beneficial adminstration of his government provided it is not contrary to the laws of the Sharia. The king has no other legal check on his

power except the dictates of the Sharia. But Barni makes some concessions for his ideal Muslim ruler in which cases he can override the Sharia law. For example the very office of king is contrary to the laws of Quran; hence all the traditions of monarchy are anti-Islamic but it can be permissable on the ground that it serves as a weapon for the propagation of the True Faith. 'Necessities, says Barni make things lawful"[1]. From this treatment of a ruler's authority, it is inferred that Barni's sovereign is absolute in his kingdom having no other legal check on his power of law-making except the conformity of the Sharia, which too, he can override with the need of the hour.

One important factor needs to be emphasised here, that medieval Muslim political thinkers in general regard God as the Real ruler (جہاندار حقیقی), and the king as the earthly sovereign(جہاندار مجازی). Barni has of course in The Fatawa-i-Jahandari followed this trend of thought, but does the sovereignty of God curtail the powers of the earthly sovereign. As we have already seen previously, that on the earth, the king is an all powerful superior, and though he governs the subjects on the basis of the Quranic Law, yet that law does not operate as a vital check on him. Every sovereign who is expected to be the most wise and prudent among mankind acts on the Quranic principles and the Sunnah of Mohammad, because they offer an orthodox Muslim ruler the best laws of regulating his affairs. When these principles hinder in the execution of state affairs, Barni does not hasten to advise his

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1. F.J. ff. 44b, 99a and b, 161a, 169a, 182a.

ideal Muslim ruler to override them. For an ideal Muslim king it is humanly impossible to govern the seventy-two creeds by resorting to the simple life and traditions of government of Mohammad. The rebellious and the headstrong forces in the state cannot be subjugated and brought within the yoke of obedience, unless the Muslim rulers draw inspirations from the governmental traditions of the pre-Muslim kings of Persia, which are diametrically opposed to the teachings of Quran and Hadis.[1]

Moreover Barni also makes concessions for his ideal Muslim ruler in the case of his observance of other Quranic prescriptions. To take an instance, Barni does not condemn his ideal sovereign for his wine-drinking and indulging in sensual pleasure. Rather he describes very emphatically how Sultan Mahammud had done so. The sovereign's personal sins will be overlooked by the Almighty as a reward for his for his meritorious services of suppressing the non-Muslim and other molesters of the True Faith and his en- ensuring a life of peace to His creation, so that He could be worshipped.[2]

These declarations of religious independence sanctioned by Barni for his all powerful sovereign do tend to make his rulers absolute in their authority. Were these concessions not the

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1. Ibid ff. 145a, 167a, and b, 242b.

2. Ibid f. 5b.

result of Barni's own experiences of the two contemporary kings of Delhi, Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji, who neither fasted nor prayed, and who even had the audacity to remark that he did not give attention to the fact, whether his orders were in conformity with the Sacred Law or not, but he commanded what was politically expedient, and Sultan Mohammad b Tughlaq, who also gave precedence to secular considerations over the theological or religious ones. This shows that how the medieval Muslim writers, whether Barni, or Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi or Fakhr-i-Mudabbir or Mohammad Baqir Nazjm us-Sani, swam with the tide, and examined things from the angle of the governing classes.

De Jure and a De Facto sovereign:

Modern European writers make a distinction between De Jure and De Facto sovereigns. Barni also distinguishes between a lawful and an unlawful ruler, whom he calls a mutaghallib (usurper). A mutaghallib is described as a ruler, who occupies the throne by sheer physical force in the absence of any legitimate claim. Such a ruler governs in his own and his partisan's interests. The two Saffarid rulers of Sistan Yaqub Lais and Umru Lais are denounced by Barni as usurper kings, since they attained to rulership in the absence of any hereditary right to throne, but simply through the employment of deceit and treachery.[1]

1. F.J. ff. 5a and b, 195a, 224a.

The essential qualities of a good Muslim ruler:

Barni lays special emphasis on the qualities of his ideal ruler. Since the office of rulers is one of heavy responsibility, so they must be adorned with special qualities of character, which will distinguish them from the rest of the population. These qualities must be inborn in the king, and not self acquired. According to Barni a habit or a quality which is the result of self effort and self acquisition does not have a permanent character. The duties of kingship are efficiently discharged only by that particular ruler, who is in possession of these attributes of character through heredity.[1] Barni appears to be extremely cautious in prescribing the qualities of a good Muslim ruler as he says a single folly of the king is bound to turn the whole realm upside down. These qualities have been repeatedly stressed by him at different occasions throughout the work and are enumerated thus: manliness, eloquence, quickness of intellect, free birth, wisdom, true religious belief, legitimate origin, justice and munificence.[2]

Manliness:

Physical fitness and amiable looks have not only been considered necessary by Barni in the case of his ideal ruler, but also for

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1. Ibid f. 237a.

2. Ibid ff. 6a, 43b, 158b, 169a.

other officers of state. This indicates his conviction that outward personality is a great influencing factor in man. A combination of healthy body and healthy mind are needed for his rulers. Among European political philosophers Plato's writings bear evidence to his regard for external appearance.[1] For example he lays down physical beauty as one of the essential virtues of his ideal citizen. Ibn-i-Abir Rabi and Farabi also emphasise over the physical fitness of their rulers.[2]

Eloquence:

Barni's ideal king possess the quality of eloquent speech - eloquence proves to be a means through which a king wins over his subjects. In his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Barni commends this virtue of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq, who in his assemblies exhibited a wonderful power of speech. The importance of this characteristic in statesmen and governers is stressed in all ages - for instance William Pitt II, one of the great Prime Ministers of England, has laid down this quality as one of the four characteristics of a good prime minister. Fazl Isfahani also emphasises on the importance of the power of speech in his ideal rulers - Imams.[3]

Quickness of intellect or discernment of character:

This has been regarded as an essential quality of a good

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1. Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle, Barker, Bhandari.p.13.
2. Suluk p.11, Ara. p. 88 as cit. by Sherwani. pp. 54, 81.
3. .S.M. f. 15a.

Muslim King by Barni. A king who is the head of government, to whom is entrusted the administration of the whole state, can only discharge his functions efficiently, when he is gifted with the faculty of judgment. The vision of the monarch needs to be extremely deep. Plato regarded deep observation as an essential characteristic of his ideal citizen. Farabi wanted his Rais (sovereign) to be one who, by very nature and upbringing, was endowed with the inherent capacity for observation and of conveying his sense to others, but not to be entrusted by them.[1] Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa also shares this view.[2]

Free Birth:

Barni was a great believer in the sanctity of birth. His ideal Muslim king must possess an independence of character. Hence he should be a free born person, not owing any obligations to a master. By the time Barni was able to give his reflections on government, the character of Delhi Sultanate had considerably changed. The first founders of Muslim Empire in India viz. Qutb ud-din Aibak and Shams ud-din Iltitmish exercised their right to inherit their master's dominions as loyal slaves. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri tells us how Shihab ud-din Ghori felt offended at the remark of a nobleman who regretted the Sultan's non-possession of a male issue.

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1. Ara. p. 88 as cited by Sherwani p. 79.

2. Al Fakhri, Eng. Trans. p. 14.
   Also see S.M. MS f. 15a.

To this the Sultan replied that his slaves were the rightful claimants to his peculium - the Indian Empire.[1]

In the early days of the Delhi Sultanate, slave status was no bar to a slave's succession to his master's throne. But after the Khilji dynastic revolution, the right of succession became hereditary in the ruling family, or was attained by force of arms directed by one of the great nobles of the kingdom. Barni is thus truly representing the spirit of the contemporary political world, when he insists on the free birth of his ideal ruler. The term free birth has been used by Barni in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari not only to denote the free status of a ruler, but to indicate his governing class origin. He maintains full reverence for a hereditary monarchy, and a free-born king in his terminology meant a king who occupied the throne by hereditary right i.e. Istihqaq (legitimate claim), and not by force of arms (taghallub). He always displays full respect for those monarchies, where kingship was confined to one ruling family.[2]

Other medieval Muslims works on government written in India like Adab-ul-Harb, Moazzat-i-Jahangiri and Akhlaq-i-Jahangiri do not touch the question of a king's free birth, since in their

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1. Per text pp. 131-2.

2. F.J. ff. 128a, 22b, 223a, and b, 224a.

times this question did not exercise any vital importance.[1]

<u>Wisdom and Intelligence</u>:

These two qualities are indispensable for Barni's true Muslim ruler. That person alone rightly deserves to be a king who possesses the necessary quality of perfect wisdom (كامل العقل). Through his nature and serene judgment alone, he is in a position to regulate the affairs of the seventy-two communities in an efficient manner.[2] But this exercise of his judgment is permitted by Barni only in certain fields. In the observances of religious rites and in the question of religious belief the king is admonished by Barni to refrain from making use of his logic. Religion is a matter of faith and thus no arguments and reasoning need be applied in questioning its validity.

Hence it is concluded that though wisdom and intelligence constitute the two chief characteristics of Barni's ideal ruler, yet they should be used in temporal affairs and not matters appertaining to religion, which is sure to weaken the roots of his

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1. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir lived in thirteenth century India when Turkish slaves were regarded as proud successors of their masters. In the case of the two latter writers, who composed their works during Jahangir's reign (A.D. 1605), succession to the throne was confined to the royal family. But Fazl Isfani writing in 16th century outside India lays down this condition for his Imams. S.M. f. 15a.

2. F.J. f. 189a. Compare Akhla-i-Jalali Eng. Trans, Thompson, p. 155, where it has been laid down as the second quality for a prince.

unquestioning faith in Islam.

Keen observation, perfect understanding, depth of vision and a retentive memory also from essential characteristics of Farabi's and Ghazzali's sovereign. Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa too shows similar reflections.[1]

True Religious Belief:

Barni's ideal ruler is first an orthodox Mussalman and then a king. Unless he is distinguished by the staunchness of his religious convictions, he is not worthy of occupying the office of a deputy and vice-gerent of God. The test of a ruler's true religious belief is his hereditary faith in Islam. Religious zeal and enthusiasm emanate from faith, which is hereditary and not acquired.[2]

Here again Barni gives expression to his biased outlook towards the bulk of Indo Muslim population in medieval India by depriving them of the rights of social and political equality. The large number of Mongols and Hindus who were embracing Islam in his times, were not allowed to stand on equal footing with the Indo-Muslim Turkish governing class to whom he entrusts with the sole monopoly of wielding responsible offices of government. In Barni's religious ethics thus there was no equality within the Umma. Government was a divine privilege of the Indo Muslim Turks only.

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1. Ara. p. 88. and Tibr. p. 93 as cit. by Sherwani, pp 81, 159. Al Fakhri pp. 14-15.

2. F.J.f. 6a, Nasihat "On True Religious Convictions of the King". f. 6b, Also see f. 257a.

Barni has laid great emphasis on the hereditary faith of his ideal ruler in the word of God (قال الله), Hadis (قال رسول الله), and the sayings of the religious scholars (قال العلماء). In fact according to him, it is the blind faith of the rulers in Quran, which leads to their success in secular affairs. Barni illustrates this admonition by quoting the anecdote of the battle between Amir Ismail Samani and Umru Lais in which victory fell to the lot of the former, because he possessed an unquestioning faith in the 'Word' of God.[1]

This religious faith of Barni's ideal ruler obliges that he should condemn all those sections of Musalmans who do not come in the category of Orthodox Musalmans viz. the Mutazalites, the materialists and other dissenting or non-conformist groups, whom Barni gives the title of men of bad faith and evil dogmas (bad mazhab and bad din). He shows how his ideal ruler Sultan Mahmud did not spare a single heretic in his dominions.[2]

The Ideal Muslim ruler by virtue of his true religious faith cannot bear the sight of a non-Muslim especially the Hindus, who are the worst enemies of the Holy Prophet. The reward which a true Muslim king obtains by shedding non-Mulsim blood is not within the bounds of comprehension.

Another feature of the true religious faith of the ruler is

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1. Ibid ff. 3a. Also see ff. 101a, 146a.

2. F.J. ff. 10b, 11a and b, 12a - 13a, 99a and b.

that he should maintain an aversion for this ephemeral world, but regard the next life as eternal. His bosom must always be filled with the desire for martyrdom in holy war. Sultan Mahmud found the ever burning desire for martyrdom ever alive in his heart, and none of his wars were motivated by the love for booty, but were waged for exterminating the infidels and unbelievers.[1]

A king is duty bound to be punctillious in fulfilling the five religious prescriptions, but if being a human being, in whose nature sin is ingrained, he fails to adhere to the observance of supererogatory acts of devotion, Almighty God will forgive him for his personal sins in recognition of the king's meritorious services in the path of the Lord. In the same way the ideal Muslim king will be pardoned for his having adopted through the pressure of circumstances the ways and traditions of the pre Muslim Persian kings. Barni's ethical and political rules of conduct are determined by his oft quoted maxim "necessity makes forbidden things lawful".[2]

Noble birth:

A true Muslim ruler must be adorned with the characteristic quality of nobility of birth and purity of origin. Barni being a firm believer in heredity and influence of environment, we find that his social and political philosophy is dominated by the principle of purity of descent and nobility of birth. A low-born

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1. Ibid ff. 9b, 10a.

2. Ibid ff. 6b, 7a and b, 99a and b.

person, says Barni is not expected to keep his covenants, hence Umru Kais who was the offspring of a carpenter was perfidious and treacherous in his dealings with the Caliph of Islam.[1] Thus virtue can never dwell within men of bad and humble origin. Even should they sometimes display virtue and righteousness, they must be treated as artificial and deceptive. Such virtue has no lasting character. If occasionally in some low-born persons, virtue is found ingrained in their very nerves, surely, says Barni, it is to be taken for granted that their blood had at some time an infusion of noble blood.[2]

Kingship is not compatible with ignoble deeds, and ignoble deeds are the result of ignoble birth. The King, who being the head of the religion and the state on earth must necessarily be adorned with high birth. In supporting his argument, Barni seeks the assistance of past history. He shows how in the remote past under the rulership of ancient monarchies for instance those of Yaman, Syria, India, Byzantium and Egypt, the affairs of government were conducted in the best of ways, because the right to the throne was limited to one noble family.

From Barni's repeated emphasis on his ideal ruler's quality of

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1. Ibid f. 4a.

2. Ibid 6b, 7a and b, 99a and b. Fazl Isfahani in his S.H. limits the right to rule to the Qureish only. f. 15a.

high birth, it is concluded that aristocrasy of birth is the central feature of Barni's ideal Muslim state. This aristocracy of birth is not self created, but depends purely on the accident of birth. At one place Barni very explicity remarks that although the Hindu and Mongel slaves are born and brought up among the Musalmans for ages, yet the smell of True Faith and fear of God is not traced in them. No loyalty for the ruler and his kingdom is to be expected from them, and they are capable of displaying only tyranny, brutishness and perfidy.[1]

Justice:

Barni devotes special attention to the quality of justice in a true Muslim king. Justice and religion are twins.[2] Justice, says he, is the foundation stone and pillar of kingship. In fact an hour of justice is more valuable than seventy years of devotion. Only that ruler in whom the quality of justice and equity is innate can rightly discharge the obligations of temporal rulership. Justice is the balance by which right and wrong, virtue and vice can be measured, and the claims of the weak be safeguarded against the tyranny of the strong. Stability in the affairs of the seventy-two communities is not assured until justice finds full expression in society. "If there is no justice in the world, no son of Adam

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1. F.J. f. 72b. Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa does not touch the ruler's question of birth; he only forbids his rulers to shun the company of common people. pp. 32 - 33.

2. Ibid ff. 43b and 44a.

will be able to drink his glass of water in seclusion, and nor will he be able to stretch his legs in peace and contentment".[1]

Rulers, proceeds Barni, have been created and entrusted with authority and majesty by the Almighty in order that they may dispense justice in the world. The ancient and modern scholars have forbidden resort to extremes in all other human affairs with the notable exception of justice. Men are advised to follow the middle course (میانه روی), but in justice alone, they are particularly instructed to exert their entire authority and power in doing justice.[2] A just king is next to Prophets in status.

After finding such a great emphasis attached to justice by Barni, it seems essential to investigate what actually Barni means by "justice". Justice according to him means putting two litigants on a par and maintaining equality between them.[3] This suggests that the royal dispensation of justice should be immune from any personal or political consideration. The king is strictly warned against partiality in lawsuits. Barni quotes an anecdote of Sultan Mahmud illustrating his conscientious regard for dispensing justice; how he passed one night in great agony on finding that in his realm tyranny was being committed. He further quotes the instance of Caliph Umar Khattab, whose sense of justice was

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1. F.J. ff. 45a and b, Compare Ghazzali Nasihat-ul-Muluk p.8. S.M. f. 15a. Fakhr-i-Muddabir f. 18b, A.M. A.N. p. 134. Al Fakhri. pp. 14 - 15.

2. Ibid f. 46a.

3. Ibid f. 135a.

proverbial in Islam.

Barni's views on a ruler's justice are shared by other medieval Muslim writers on government. Ibn Abir-Rabi defined justice as the condition of the correctness of the locus of all actions, and is based on the happy means between the thinking faculty and the animal nature in Man. Justice consists in the ruler's keeping of promises, showing mercy, and giving everyone his share according to the laws which have been framed for the kingdom under his supervision.[1] Farabi in his works also stresses on the sovereign's quality of justice. Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi remarks that God the Almighty is pleased with a king only when he treats his people with kindness and justice.[2] Mawardi, Ghazzali, Kaiqaus, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Ali Shihab Hamadani, Fazl Isfahani, Mohammad Baqir Najm us-Sani all attach great emphasis to their ruler's indispensable virtue of justice, which according to them is one of the fundamental aims of monarchy.[3] Like Barni they also believe that an unjust ruler has no other shelter for him on the Day of Judgment, but Hell. They admonish their rulers to guard against tyranny, since all of them will be questioned about their subjects on that day. If a woman goes hungry to bed the ruler will be held responsible for this.

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1. Suluk p. 116 as cited by Sherwani p. 55.

2. S.N. pp. 5, 15, 22.

3. For exa see A.H. f. 27b, chap 'Royal Justice'. Akham, Urdu edi, chap 1, p. 3. S.M., f. 19a.

When the conception of justice of these medieval Muslim Scholars especially Barni, is examined critically, it is found that it suffers from grave limitations. For instance Barni's theory of justice does not apply to non-Muslims. What to speak of their civil and political rights even their wives and children, says Barni are according to some sects of Islam at the very mercy of Muslims, who alone profess the right Faith.[1] Even non-Sunni Muslims have no claims at all in Barni's ideal state. They are to be condemned and exterminated, wherever found. The low-born and men of humble origin also do not enjoy rights other than that of mere existence.

Thus, though 'justice' occupies the foremost place in Barni's code of political ethics, yet its definition and scope as compared to the Rule of Law are considerably limited. But should the democratic and socialistic conception of justice be expected from medieval Muslim monarchies, where instead of the rule of community, the law of the individual prevailed?

However Barni's discussion of the essential quality of Justice in a true Muslim king does indicate that his ideal Muslim ruler was not a tyrant, but a benevolent ruler, a protector, and a well-wisher of his people - although people in his terminology only

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F.J. f. 95.

included true and well-born Muslims of Barni's persuasion.

Munificence:

Barni's ideal sultan is a munificent ruler - a ruler who is the nourisher of the whole kingdom, even the wild animals and birds. The high quality of monarchy, says Barni does not go well with miserliness. Only he, who fulfils the needs of his subjects, and does not expect any return is truly worthy of the venerable office of rulership. Monarchy can be compatible with infidelity and weakness, but never with niggardliness. A king is sure to lose his honour and prestige, if his subjects observe this base quality in him. In order to emphasise this essential characteristic further, Barni quotes anecdotes of Muslim Caliphs - how Caliph Mamun opened his royal treasury with a view to distributing the I'd gifts among his subjects, and how this Caliph at another occasion deprived his son Abdullah of the right to succeed to the Caliphate, when he beheld the evil of niggardliness in his son.[1]

The ideal ruler's quality of munificence is accompanied by high aspirations. Low aspirations indeed foster public hatred for the king. When his subjects find their sovereign ruler duly recognisant of their claims, bestowing upon them gifts and robes, emoluments and pensions, then they feel more loyal towards him. Love for wealth is by nature deeply ingrained in human heart,

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1. F.J. ff. 54b, 64a. Compare Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa, p. 18, where generosity has been prescribed as the sixth important quality in rulers.

because gold and silver are the means for fulfilling their requirements.[1] The gifts of kings, says Barni are the king of gifts. His high aspirations also imply that he should never feel satisfied with the dominions he has under his control but instead must be imbued with the zeal and enthusiasm to capture more territories. A king's ambition thus is boundless and it is only through the influence of such lofty ambitions, that he aspires for dominance over the whole world. Kingship symbolises greatness, and greatness is obtained by commanding supremacy over the rest of the rulers.

From this discussion in which Barni indulges in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, it appears that Barni is not content to see his ideal Muslim ruler superior in his own realm alone, but his object of study is an emporor - an emporor, who is swept by imperialistic motives. Barni's theory of Jahangiri (world conquest) is dominated by religious and political considerations unlike the modern theory of Imperialism.[2]

The lofty ambitions of Barni's sovereign also imply that his king is never prepared to submit to other people's will, but here Barni admonishes him to deviate from the exercise of his arrogance and self conceit, when he finds his decisions and schemes proving detrimental to the kingdom. Persistence in evil is a great blemish

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1. Ibid f. 78.

2. F.J. ff. 177b - 178a.

in a true Muslim king. On this occasion Barni quotes the Quranic law of Nasikh and Mansukh (principle of abrogation in the Quran).[1] When God's orders are altered with the exigencies of time, the ruler must not insist on imposing his word as 'law'. A royal resolve ~~which~~ aims at good and righteousness, and not evil and mischief.

Comparing Barni's emphasis on the royal munificence, liberality and high aspirations of his ideal ruler with other medieval Muslim writers on government, we find that Farabi and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir equally emphasise over these virtues of the king. They like Barni do not believe in a king's plain living and high thinking.[2]

Barni in interpreting the high aspirations of his sovereign in terms of his adoption of a life of plenty and luxury as necessary requirements of his high office differs fundamentally from the mystic theory of good government. Ali Shihab Hamadani sanctions a life of simplicity for his ideal ruler after the pattern of Mohammad and the four Orthodox Caliphs. A life of simplicity of monarchs is also emphasised by Ghazzali, who corroborates the truth of his statement by quoting the traditions of Prophet Mohammad and the Umayyad ruler Umar b. Abdul Aziz, who were the emblem of simplicity.[3] Barni on the other hand sanctions drinking

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1. Ibid Nasihat on "Royal Resolve". f. 32b.

2. A.M. f. 3, Ara. 88, as cited by Sherwani p. 81.

3. Tibr. p. 5. as cit. by Sherwani p. 172.

of wine for his rulers to the extent that they are not so over intoxicated as to miss their obligatory prayers. Similarly indulgence in luxury and pleasure and love for the beautiful (Khu-i-khuban) also form an essential feature of his ideal ruler's life.[1]

Barni indeed in prescribing the qualities of munificence and high aspirations for his rulers is fully expressing the spirit of his times. The contemporary Turkish Sultans of Delhi had always exhibited such a great extravagance in their policy of bestowing gifts on their nobles, and holding glamourous convivial parties, that they had won a renown in other Muslim lands, and which proved to be a source of attracting scholars and adventurers to their court from outside their own realms.

Duties of a true Muslim King:-

While discussing the aims of temporal government, we have already examined Barni's ideas of the different purposes for which the institution of government exists. Here it will suffice to list the duties of the sovereign briefly.

In modern democratic states the tendency is to divide the functions of government into constituent and ministrant. Professor Gettell and Willoughby classify them as essential

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1. F.J. f. 110a.

and optional.[1] Barni's division of a sovereign's duties or functions of government is based on a different conception. He assigns two functions to be performed by his true Muslim ruler - the religious and secular.[2] When the wide scope of these two-fold duties of his ruler is taken into consideration, they appear to be all embracing. Hence the sphere of state action according to Barni is all exhaustive.

Religious duties:

Among the religious duties of the Sultan Barni mentions the protection and propagation of the True Faith. But how is this cardinal function to be successfully performed? To establish the supremacy of the traditions of Islam, the king must extirpate all non-Muslim creeds and their adherents. If their total destruction is not within the power of the king by reason of their overwhelming numbers, he must reduce them to social, economic and political servitude.[3]

The religious duty of a Muslim king also signifies the suppression of free thought in Muslim lands. Only those branches

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1. As quoted by Majumdar, Chap. Functions of the state.

2. Barni does not list these functions at one place but states them at several places. Unlike him Ibn Tiqtaqa is more systematic and puts them together. See Eng. Trans. pp. 30-34. Also see Fazl Isfahani, S.M. ff. 14b, 19a.

3. F.J. f. 125a.

of human knowledge, which stand in conformity with the True Faith viz. Tafsir, Quran, Hadis, Fiqh and History (of kings and maliks) are to be allowed to exist. It is the performance of this cardinal duty, which leads to a king's salvation in the next world, and his being ranked among the 'Qutubs' (Axis) of the world.[1] In fact Barni legalises and justifies monarchy, which he says is alien to Islam and the very negation of the Sharia and Sunnah of Mohammad and the four Orthodox Caliphs, if it fulfils this religious function. True religion also obliges the monarch to patronise the Ulemas and Sheikhs of Islam.

Barni is more particular on the fulfilment of public religious duties by his ideal ruler as compared with the personal religious observances. Although he believes in the maxim "people follow the religion of their rulers", yet on this particular occasion he maintains a lenient attitude towards his ruler by asserting that he should exercise force over his subjects in leading them to the path of Sharia even though he himself may be slack.[2]

• Barni's intolerant outlook towards non-Muslims and non-Sunni sects of Islam does not strike very surprising to us when

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1. F.J. f. 7a.
   Compare Fazl Isfahani, S.M. ff. 18b, 25a. This writer comes very close to Barni's assertions.

2. F.J. ff. 7a - 8a.

we observe that in his age, the dominant feature of civilisation, whether in the East or West was religious communalism. The suppression of heresy and sectarianism was considered the basic foundations of a ruler's policy. The uncharitable language which Barni uses in the denunciation of Hindus whom he regarded as the chief hostile force to the Sultanate of Delhi, is also used by Nizam-ul-Mulk in his Siyasat Nama in the condemnation of the Ismaili heretics.[1]

Secular duties:

Barni's conception of a Muslim king's secular duties is very wide. His ideal monarch unlike the British king, who reigns but does not govern, or the American President, who governs but does not reign, or the French President, who neither reigns nor governs, both reigns and governs. The ideal ruler is the head of the executive, legislature and judiciary. As the head of the executive he stands as the 'Defender of the Faith', the fountain of all honour, the chief magistrate of his subjects, the "Secretary of State" for foreign affairs and

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1. S.N. Chaps. 44 - 49. M.S. 648 I.O.
The author of Adab-ul-Harb writing in 13th century India also stresses most vehemently on a ruler's duty of waging holy war on unbelievers. He devotes one whole chapter to this royal duty. F.151a. He says: "Anyone, who stands in the line of Ghazis for an hour (only), he is superior to one, who prays for sixty years". F. 151a.

the "Supreme Commander".[1]

As the fountain of all honour, Barni's ideal ruler alone is entrusted with the power to confer honours and dignity upon his subjects. But the exercise of this power ought to be subject to certain conditions. The king, while recognising the merits of a person must have regard to the rank and status of the person concerned. If he bestows an honour upon someone, which the person concerned does not deserve, or if he fails to give due recognition to the services and loyalty of a certain person who rightly deserves it, this negligence of the Sultan will lead to the loss of the people's confidence in him and give rise to confusion in the state.[2]

As the chief magistrate of the realm, Barni's ideal king appoints all executive officers, viz. the wazir, the officers of the army, the judical officers, i.e. qazis, dadbeks, censors of public morals, kotwals, royal intelligencers, state-governers, taz-collectors and other officers as he regards necessary for the administration of his realm. In making an appointment of these

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1. Compare the wide range of Barni's ideal ruler's duties with thegeneral trend of Muslim writers on 'government' and Jurists. Vide Qureishi. pp. 48 - 49.

2. F.J. ff. 59b - 66b. Compare Ibn Tiqtaqa, Eng. Trans. p. 44. Fazl Isfahani admonishes his ruler to be fully cognisant of a person's claim, while making a provision for him. See S.M. F. 19a.

officers the ideal Muslim ruler has to be extremely vigilant in observing the conditions required for these appointments.

Wazirs:

Barni does not devote a chapter exclusively to a discussion of the office of wazir. But he throws sufficient light on the qualities of a wazir, while discussing the prime need for a king to consult his loyal counsellors before executing state business. God the Almighty has entrusted the sword of earthly power to the sons of Kaimurs and, for providing them with good counsel they have been gifted with prudent wazirs.[1] The greatest divine bounty for mankind after prophethood and rulership is the gift of a wazir of perfect judgment. The two illustrious kings of the inhabited earth viz. Prophet Solomon and Alexander (whom some deny the status of a prophet, but that he was undoubtedly a saint) were able to succeed in establishing good government chiefly because they had unique wazirs like Asif Barkhiya and Aristotle.[2] The name of Ardeshir Babakan and Nausherwan the Just has survived in this world because, through the judgment of

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1. F.J. f. 18b. The author of A.H., states "God says: 'I have two wazirs in Heaven - Gabriel and Michael, and two on the earth - Abu Bakr and Umar." f. 51b.

2. Ibid f. 20 and b.
The Nasaih Nizam ul-Mulk also accepts that efficient and capable wazirs are a heavenly bounty. f. 218a, as cit. by Qureishi, p. 78.

their prudent wazirs like Abr Sam and Buzurchemehr, they were able to govern righteously.[1]

A wazir is the alter ego of a king. The ancients have enunciated the precept:"A king without a wazir is like a palace without a foundation, and bread without salt".[2]

It is the wazirs who perform the duties of administration, when an infant king succeeds to the throne. If the judgments of wazirs suffer from error, the realm is thrown into chaos. The appointment of a wazir can only be sound when there is consensus of opinion among the nobles and commons testifying to the appointee's wisdom. All the affairs of government are dependent on a wazir's judgment.[3]

Barni emphasises that a wazir is the keystone of the governmental arch. He always admonishes his king to execute state business with the previous consent of his counsellors, and the wazir of a king enjoys the position of primus inter pares.

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1. Ibid f. 20 and b.

2. Ibid f. 21b. Adab-ul-Harb says:"the truth is that a wazir is a sharer of the kingdom". f. 51b, Suluk-ul-Muluk says: "He, whom the Iman or Sultan makes his deputy in order to carry on his administration and from whom he seeks consultation is a wazir". F. 18a.

3. F.J. ff. 18b - 19a. Compare Kaiqaus, who shows full consciousness of the importance of wizarat and admonishes his son in this connection to cultivate the knowledge of administration and aquire skill in accountancy. Levy Trans. p. 211.

Similar reflections on the importance of wazirs are found in the works of other Muslim writers on government.[1]

Organisation of the Army:-

Barni denotes more attention to the importance and the treatment of the army by his ideal ruler rather than the composition and organisation of the army. The maintenance and organisation of the army constitute the indispensable duties of the government. A king is not able to perform either his religious or his secular duties unless he maintains a strong and well organised army. Kai Khusrau an eminent king has propounded the precept: "Kingship is army and army is kingship".[2] This implies that the institution of monarchy rests on two pillars viz. government and conquest, and none of these two objects can be achieved in the absence of a well organised and abundant army. Jamshed remarked that it is the royal army which breaks the neck of the headstrong and maintains justice and peace in the world.[3] This shows that Barni's ideal state was not solely based on force,

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1. See Mawardi, Urdu Edi, Chap. 11.
   Q.N. p. 128. Tuhfat-ul-Muluk pp. 6 and 8. and Adab-ul-Harb, ff. 52a, and b, This author calls a wazir 'the soul of a kingdom.'

2. F.J. f. 65a.

3. Ibid f. 65b. Barni's great emphasis on the importance and maintenance of a strong army is emphasised by the geographical situation and the character of the Delhi Sultanate. See Qureishi, p. 136.

but it was employed by the state as a means to an ulterior end—the establishment of peace and order. To him force occupies a predominant place in human life, but the foundations of society do not rest on force alone, rather on royal compassion, kindness and mercy. Force is used only in order to eliminate tyranny and injustice. Force is a necessary evil and a necessary attribute of the state. It is not its essence however.

The Army which services as the pivot of the state can only function properly when the ideal Muslim king discharges his obligations efficiently. The king must maintain such a great regard for the army that if a soldier requires his personal arms and horse, he must part with them ungrudgingly.[1] He should spend money lavishly on the recruitment of the army. A true Muslim king must practise five fundamental principles essential to the recruitment and the good order of the army.

(1) The king must be informed about the recruitment of soldiers from year to year.

(2) He should look after the provisions of the army and the families of the soldiers.

(3) He should inquire about the arms and horses of the Soldiers twice every year.

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1. F.J. f. 65a.

(4) He must test the holy warriors in the art of horsemanship, so that those who do not belong to the category of fighter, are not enlisted.

(5) The king must see that the commanders of the army are pious, selected, well born, valient and good natured persons.[1]

Barni advises his ideal king to abstain from recruiting his army from one particular nationality or group. Here Barni seems to give expression to a very subtle point - the counterpoise of soldiers against soldiers will alone ensure their loyalty to the king, otherwise their unity will be a threat to the king's own security.[2]

Barni also states the advantages and disadvantages of organising a slave army,[3] and the different modes of making payments to the troops. He also admonishes his ideal ruler to be constantly on guard against having an idle army. The troops must be kept engaged, if not in battle then either in collecting taxes, patrolling the frontiers, cutting down forests, demolition of forts and hunting.[4] An idle mind is the devil's

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1. F.J. f. 70b.
2. Ibid f. 71a.
3. Ibid f. 71b - 72a.
4. F.J. f. 73b.

workshop. Moreover the king must not be strict with the soldiers in distributing booty, because this would create ill-will between him and the soldiers.

Barni's whole discussion of the king's conscientious regard for the army shows how strongly he felt that the king's own safety depended upon a stable and well regulated army.[1] It was in his own interests that the ruler should be lenient and sympathetic towards the soldiers.

Qazis, Dadbeks, Muhtasibs and Tax-collectors:-

The duties of the ideal Muslim king in the appointment of these officers involve great responsibility and are to be taken extremely seriously. Barni does not lay down specifically the necessary qualities of these officers and the scope of their duties, but while discussing subjects like the stabilisation of prices of commodities, the dispensation of justice, he throws some light on their position and status. The primary duty of the monarch is to investigate the birth of the officer concerned. A low born person can never be a deserving candidate

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1. See Habibullah, where he describes the royal need for a powerful army, p. 243.

for these officers of government.[1] Right belief in these officers is another requisite of their appointment.[2] The monarch should also have an eye to their potential loyalty.

All these officers are the helpers and supporters of the king in his discharge of governmental duties. If they lack proper qualifications, the king will be questioned before the divine throne for their negligence, and in this world the string of administration will be loosened. In the case of muhtasibs, Barni lays down an additional qualification of strictness and harsh temper. They are entrusted with the responsibility of preventing corruption in the social life and economic dealings of the subjects.[3]

Barids (royal Intelligencers):-

Barni has devoted an exclusive chapter to the discussion of the qualities, appointment and duties of these officers.[4] A barid, says Barni, serves as a connecting link between the ruler and the ruled on one hand, and the ruler and his bureaucracy on the other. A king can only discharge his manifold duties when he is fully and rightly informed of the

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1. 2. F.J. The two Nasaih XIX and XXII deal with this point repeatedly and Barni solicits the help of past history in order to convince his ideal rulers to guard against this ruling.

3. Ibid f. 10a, where he gives an account of Mahmud's appointment of Muhtasibs. Compare Fazl Isfahani, Chap on Ihtisab f. 57a.

4. F.J. Mawardi pp. 360-83. Urdu Edi. f. 61a compare A.M.f.42b, S.N. pp. 57-58 as cit. by Habibullah, p. 224.

condition and sentiments of his subjects. If the king is warned by the Holy Law against the investigation of the private affairs of his subjects on the basis of the Quranic verse:"do not investigate into other people's sins", he should say bluntly, that this Quranic injunction applies to the dealings of private individuals with each other.[1] Certainly a king, to whom is assigned the responsibility for the welfare of the whole raiyyat must know each and every detail of people's affairs.[2]

Rulership is not possible without the appointment of barids. Alexander used to appoint a barid over the governer of each territory he brought within the yoke of his obedience. This kept him constantly informed of the good and bad deeds of nobles and governers.[3] The benefits of this practice accrue both to the ruler and his governers. Even Caliph Umar in those days of righteousness and honesty emphasised the necessity of the appointment of barids then what to speak of these days when evil and mischief have become the order of the day.[4]

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1. F.J.f. 79b.
2. Ibid ff. 78b - 79a.
3. Ibid f. 80b,
4. Ibid f. 82a.

The qualities of a barid:-

(1) Truthfulness in speech and in writing.

(2) Honesty and noble birth.

(3) Trustworthiness and dignity.

(4) Reserve in social intercourse.[1]

If these qualities are found wanting in a barid, he will expect a horse as a bribe from one person, a slave girl from another and money from the third.[2] This will foster hatred for the king in the hearts of the people and kindle aversion for the people in the heart of the king.

Barni quotes an anecdote of Sultan Mahmud illustrating how difficult a task it is to perform the duties of an efficient barid, and how skilfully Sultan Mahmud tested the efficiency and honesty of his barids. He exemplifies the evil which overtakes a king by recording the anecdote of Caliph Mamum, who dismissed his barids.[3] In short, without the existence of barids, in the realms and dominions of the king, no peace, order and plenty can be conceived.

Economic stability:-

According to Barni another executive duty of the king is to ensure the economic stability of the realm. The organisation of

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1. Ibid f. 83b.

2. F.J. f. 84a.

3. Ibid ff. 85a, 87a.

government, good order of administration are dependent on a happy and contented people. The happiness and contentment of the people in turn rests on abundance and on cheapness of the means of livelihood. Hence it is an indispensable duty of the monarch to stabilise the prices of military necessities, like army weapons and horses, and of prices of commodities for general consumption. The king is required to use all possible effort in accomplishing this object.[1]

But how could this object be accomplished? Barni says that in times of famine caused by drought, a heavenly calamity, the king is utterly helpless. However he can relieve the burden of mankind by reducing the kharaj and jizya; and by offering whatever help he can from the treasury.[2] But in the years of plenty his foremost duty is to look to the stabilisation of prices and the checking of black marketeering and hoarding of commodities. Barni suggests the fixing of prices on the basis of the costs of production. (حکم برآورد).[3]

The king's conscientious regard for stabilising prices has several advantages:-

(1) The availability of the necessities of the army at low cost contributes to the strength of the army,

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1. F.J. f. 91a.

2. Ibid f. 91b.

3. Ibid ff. 92a, 97a.

which is the basis of kingship and the protector of the subjects.[1]

(2) The cheapness of means of livelihood causes a migration of scholars and expert craftsmen to the capital.[2]

(3) When enemies observe plenty and content in the king's realm, they do not entertain the ambition to attack it.[3]

(4) The cheapness of commodities renders the king's renown immortal, and ensures peaceful conditions in the land.[4]

(5) The cheapness of commodities causes a well-filled royal treaury, because when prices are high, the king has to spend lavishly on government, while the treasury is exhausted, the cultivators enjoy affluence.[5]

(6) By awarding punishments to extortionate dealers, forestallers and regraters for keeping up prices, the king fulfils his chief duty as a ruler - the dispensation of justice.[6]

(7) By reducing prices of necessities the king performs his duty of safeguarding the rights of the poor

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1. F.J. f. 93a.

2. Ibid f. 93b.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. F.J.f. 94a. 6. Ibid f. 94b.

against the rich.[1]

(8) Regrating and extortionate selling are a social sin, and their suppression is a public duty.[2]

(9) Regrating is the occupation of Hindus and Magians, and the craft of Infidels and polytheists. Plundering and enslaving the property, wives and children of Hindus and Magians is permitted by several Muslim sects. In reality it is the Hindus who plunder Musalmans. Hence the prohibition of regrating protects the rights of Musalmans.[3]

(10) When prices are low, every group will devote itself to its hereditary occupation, but when prices are high, the motive of profit making will induce soldiers to take to agriculture, peasants take to trade and extortionate dealers to Imarat and military command. The whole administration falls a prey to confusion.[4]

Barni's whole discussion of the economic welfare of subjects suggests that he regarded the state as a guardian of the economic stability of the people.

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1. Ibid ff. 94b and 95a.

2. Ibid f. 95a.

3. Ibid ff. 95a - b.

4. F.J. ff. 95b - 96a.

Barni's ideal ruler is the head of foreign affairs. The need for maintaining international relations between states finds full reflection in Barni. Barni lays down certain qualities for ambassadors. The ambassador of a king holds a very important and responsible position. The position of an ambassador has been compared with that of a Prophet.[1]

An ambassador must be a person of sweet speech, sociable disposition, well-mannered, handsome countenance, magnanimous, high spirited, experienced, prudent, wise, learned, man of discernment, well versed in polite manners and etiquette, and experienced with the affairs of government.[2] Barni's ambassadors perform the major task of creating goodwill in the hearts of the king to whose realm he is despatched. He influences the ruler of that state with his polite manners and diplomatic tricks. An anecdote of Nausherwan has been quoted by Barni to emphasise the status, appointment and qualities of an ambassador.

The ideal ruler declares peace and war and concludes treaties. He gives some very sound rules on when to seek and when to avoid battle.

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1. F.J. f. 239b.

2. F.J. ff. 239b. Other medieval Muslim writers on 'government' also specify the qualities of royal envoys or ambassadors. For example, see A. Harb. f. 57a. Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa, Eng. Trans. pp. 64 - 67.

The king's legislative duties:-

Barni has devoted an exclusive Nasihat to this subject.[1] All administrative regulations are framed by kings, but these must not transgress the Sunnah. In emergency transgression is sanctioned by Barni but with reservations.[2] But what is a regulation? Barni's definition is very clear. He says:" A regulation in the terminology of administration means pursuing a line of action which the king has imposed as an obligatory duty upon himself with a view to realising the ends of government and from which he never wholly deviates".[3]

No government remarks Barni can function in the absence of firm regulations, which are approved by knowledge and reason, and which are framed by the king with the counsel of the wise and the intelligent.[4] Rules and regulations as such enable the ideal ruler to discharge his obligations of kingship. Their aim is both immediate and ultimate good.[5]

From Barni's discussion of Zawabit three different types of laws are inferred - the laws of the Quran - suited to all times and circumstances, which the king must obey, customary rules,

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1. F.J. Nasihat 14. f. 157a.
2. Ibid f. 158a.
3. F.J. f. 157b.
4. Ibid
5. Ibid.

which he obeys on his discretion, and those which he frames for the proper conduct of his governmental affairs.

Barni quotes an anecdote giving a list of laws made by Sultan Mahmud and Qadr Khan of Khita, which were the source of peaceful and efficient administration in their realms.[1] Thus Barni's picture of an ideal state is one in which there is a constitution - partly written and partly unwritten, based on religious, customary and man-made laws.

The king as the pivot of the administration, as the de jure and de facto sovereign, is also the head of the judiciary. It is he who acts as the final judge. For the enforcement of justice he appoints judical officers like qazis and dadbeks, who dispense justice to people. Barni implores his ideal ruler to hold once a week an open court in open space, where any oppressed and aggrieved person would be able to plead his case before the king.[2] The king as the supreme judge is responsible for the proper dispensation of justice.

Barni does not dilate further on the organisation of the judiciary. In his discussion of the problems of government and administration, he seems to be chiefly concerned with the

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1. Ibid ff. 151b, 165a.

2. Ibid f. 139b.

aims and objects of rulership rather than with the detailed organisation of the governmental machine.

Conclusion.

This concludes the summary of Barni's political ideas in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari. The fundamentally religious origin, form and colouring of his ideas will have been observed. He aimed to educate princes in true religion and in their duties towards true religion. Perhaps the fact that it has apparently survived only in one manuscript copy, is evidence that it did not commend itself either to the people of its own time or of the succeeding generations.

Clearly the world for which Barni wrote has passed away leaving the Fatawa-i-Jahandari as an interesting and indeed important source of information on Muslim political thinking in medieval India.

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

FATAWA-I-JAHANDARI.

(Precepts on Government).[1]

of

the well-wisher of the Sultan's Court, F.1b

ZIA-I-BARNI.

Thanks and (praises)[2] be to the Creator, who has adorned religion-promoting Sultans and Sovereign (rulers)[3] with justice; (has made) the people of the world obedient to their orders and (incessant devotees of their kingdoms)[4]; has caused the earth to be inhabited and (prosperous)[5] through His abundant justice and compassion, and the people to prosper under His protection through which order is established in the world.

Benedictions be on the holy soul of the lord of the (created world)[6] Mohammad Mustafa, who among all existing beings is the leader of angels and men! Praise and (Peace)[7] be on him, and all those who believe, and on his companions, Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali, son of Abi Talib and on Hasan and Husain! God, the Creator of the universe, has through the kindness, mercy and truthfulness of these Four, who have been distinguished by the lieutenancy of the Prophet and by (religious leadership)[8], brought the edifice of human race under the shadow of Islam.

Zia Barni, the well-wisher of the Sultan's Court, so

describes after a study of books[9]..........................

(Nasihat)[10] No. I. F.2a

...............and his designs always fail. Neither does he attain to salvation, nor do the subjects get rid of his evil and wicked designs.

Whenever before attending to his state affairs, a king throws himself under the protection of God and His "Word" (Quran), and appeals to the Court of the Self Sufficient, God (keeps)[11] him safe and secure under His protection and care from the evil suggestions of Satan, from erroneous thoughts and faulty plans. If a king possessing pure religious convictions with the intention, mentioned above (were to read)[12] (the Quranic chapter) "Allah Indeed Knows"[13], and strengthen his faith in it, he would be able to succeed in accomplishing the affairs of his state without the least fear and (anxiety)[14]. And in this connection whatever (appears)[15] in his mind he will consider it as a good inspiration.

Besides the king is a wonder of divine creation. Allah the Almighty is the creator of both good and evil, and just as divine blessings pour from the higher heaven on the earth below, in the same way numerous afflictions and evils fall on earth from the sky. A human being, with the exception of prophets, who are created pure, and saints, who are protected after attaining to saintship, and become secure from the evil and malice of human nature[16], is composed of jealousy, envy,

wrath, malice and evil. Those people on whom divine favour casts its shadow, whose virtues outweigh their vices, and whose good prevails over their evil are very few and far between among mankind. On the other hand the victims of F.2b envy, jealousy, malice, wrath and evil would be beyond all computation. So whenever (they see)[17] a king singular in rank, position, equipment and treasures as compared to the general public, and witness the enforcement of his commands and prohibitions on the people by virtue of his universal dignity, the eyes of all these wicked, jealous, envious, imposterous and perfidious men are fixed upon him. They, because of their extreme cupidity and avarice, strive for king's annihilation, since their aim and (object)[18]................. ....and they find it better through his hands. The lovers of worldly position and the adorers of evil[19].......
....

Thus the wise king is he, (who)[20] does not (consider) himself secure from the machinations and perfidy of jealous and malignant men. And have not the rulers of (to-day)[21] and yesterday surrounded themselves with night watchmen and sentinels for their safeguard because of the forwardness of the malignant, the deceitful, the perverse and the depraved. Due to the villainy of the reckless and the intrepid, who on account of their overpowering lust, excessive jealousy and mischievous nature, fear no consequences, and throw (them-

selves)[22] blindly and recklessly into burning fire, it usually happens, that these people risk (bi dawanand) their heads like herbs and (radishes)[23], and so the kings have been frightened of them, because they have known from a wealth of experience, that no thought of future comes into the mind of the wicked, the vicious and the ill-starred, when they are overpowered by rage and malignance. There will be F.3a many, who due to some reason have resentment against the king, and constantly thirst for vengeance. In their overwhelming desire to satisfy their wrath and vengeance, they will wish to raise contention. But if a king of the Mussalmans, whose faith in the "Word of God" is firm and sound, puts himself, his country and his government under the protection of the recitation of the "Word of God", there should be no doubt or (suspicion)[24] about this, that any malignant, deceitful or wicked person will be able to overpower him, and thus he will be safe under divine protection from all (heavenly)[25] calamities..............................

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The (anecdote)[26] of Amir Ismail Samani and Umru Lais is worthy of credence.

(Anecdote)[27] illustrating the above Nasihat.

(Sultan) Mahmud has read in the Tarikh-l-Samanian,[28] that when Amir Ismail Samani,[29] whose good qualities and virtues have been described in books of history, obtained the rulership

of Khurasan and Mawarann Nahr from the capital of the Caliphate, since the last thirty years Yaqub Lais and his brother Umru Lais, who were the sons of a (carpenter)[30], had seized Khurasan, Sistan and the adjoining territories by force and tyranny, and had obtained the means of rulership by plundering and pillaging the property of the Mussalmans through unlawful and violent means. Both these brothers molested the boundaries of the provinces of Baghdad in various ways, and the capital was immensely damaged because of their rebellion, sedition and pillage. F.3b

When the hour of their destruction approached, they waged war against Baghdad. Yaqub Lais, the elder brother, was captured and died in prison in the worst of suffering.[31] His brother Umru took possession of his property, treasure and troops; he once more stretched his hands to plunder the cities of the Mussalmans, and called (himself)[32] a king by force.[33]

The Caliph of Baghdad sent an (order)[34] to Amir Ismail, who was a very honest and religious king, asking him to march with his troops against Umru Lais, and to remove his evil and wickedness (from)[35] amongst the people of Islam. In accordance with the Caliph's order, Amir Ismail prepared his troops, and marched against the ill-starred Umru. When he reached near Umru's territory, Umru also equipped his troops, and marched forward with the intention of battle and slaughter. The two armies came near each other and the battle began.

But Umru sought some people as intermediaries, and sent his confident and trustworthy men to Amir Ismail, and sued for truce on the condition, that he (Umru) would go and present himself before the Caliph of Baghdad, and hand over to him elder brother's treasures of which he had taken possession; F.4a that he would give up rebellion, plunder and pillage, and remain content with the territories, which would be assigned to him from the capital. If Umru was to accept these conditions, he and his army would be granted safety from Amir Ismail and his troops. Umru took a document from Amir Ismail to this effect, but he had treachery and deceit in his mind.

For some days Umru kept the troops of Amir Ismail quiet through his deceitful tricks. Every day he sent tributes and presents to Amir Ismail, and twice daily the notables of his army went to pay their respects to Amir Ismail. By the decree of God one day none of Umru's men went to offer his respects to the Amir, and no presents and tributes were sent. When Amir Ismail got up from his afternoon nap, his mind became suspicious and he said to himself: "Umru Lais is a man of low birth, and the keeping of covenants cannot be expected from the low-born". He ordered the sergeants and chiefs of his army[36] to communicate his order to all his commanders and (generals) to put on their arms and be ready; if the animals and horses could not be brought from the pastures in time, they should be prepared to fight on foot,

"because" (the Amir said): "I have a suspicion, that Umru Lais will break his promise". He also ordered his night F.4b watchmen and gate keepers to get ready for battle; to put on their arms and sit in the plain in front of the vestible.. In accordance with these orders, the gallant warriors of Amir Ismail's army got ready for battle.

37

As the time for "Asr" prayer approached, suddenly dust was seen rising in the direction of Umru Lais's army. Intelligence was brought, that Umru had rescinded the treaty, and was riding with four thousand horses in order to attack Amir Ismail's camp and strike at his tent. But Amir Ismail in whose mind suspicion about Umru's deceit had already been cast, felt secure. Relying on Almighty God, he mounted his horse and stood prepared for battle in front of his vestible. Umru broke into Amir Ismail's camp, and wished to remove his troops. But Amir Ismail's soldiers took up their arrows, and kept the enemy at bay for a time with their arrow-shots. Ultimately, with some fearless horsemen, Umru broke into Amir Ismail's camp and attacked his tent. But while entering, the leg of his horse got entangled with the ropes of Amir Ismail's tent, and he was separated from his horse. The gallant warriors of Amir Ismail's army turned him mad with their arrow-shots, and captured him alive.

(But) before Umru's tumult could reach Amir Ismail's

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vestible, the Amir had already told his (courtiers): "You

should have no anxiety, for I have recited to-day the (Quranic) Surah, "Indeed Allah Knows". I have been told by pious scholars, that whosever recites this Surah each F.5a day, the Almighty God inspires him with good thoughts, and no treachery or mischief harms him. This suspicion about Umru Lais, which was put into my mind and in compliance to which I prepared my troops beforehand, is a sign of good inspiration. I hope and have full trust, in that the treachery and deceit of this traitor will by no means have any effect on me". Amir Ismail, while mounting his horse, had strengthened the hearts of his courtiers and companions with these words. He allowed no anxiety to enter his mind on account of the attack of that traitor.

It was after some time, that with ropes round his neck and his hands tied behind, Umru was brought before the vestible of Amir Ismail's tent. Amir Ismail took his seat on his throne; held a public audience, and ordered the traitor, Umru Lais to be brought before his royal throne. When the Amir's eyes fell upon him, he ordered the wretch to be brought nearer, and he was taken closer.

The Amir asked him: "Tell us what must be done with a traitor like you?"

"Order them to tear me to pieces", Umru replied.

Amir Ismail asked him again: "Why did you revolt?"

"For the last thirty years," replied Umru, "rebellion,

treachery, plunder and pillage proved advantageous to me and my brother. All that we have obtained, has come to us through embezzlement, violence and rebellion. This time I thought the same, and took for granted that my rebellion will succeed but it did not, and I am captured". F.5b

Amir Ismail started reflecting. He thought of punishing Umru in his own camp, but later on it appeared to him that he should send Umru to Baghdad, so that the Caliph could punish him there. At that moment Umru raised a loud cry: "I have a secret to disclose to the Amir. If the Amir grants me a private interview, and summons me near him, I will reveal this secret to him".

The Amir ordered the spectators and the sight-seers to depart. He then went to his private chamber; took his seat there and summoned Umru. Umru Lais had a roll round his arm; he took it out and placed it before Amir Ismail. "This" he said, "is a list of the exact proportion of the buried wealth and treasures of my brother, who collected them in thirty years. He has deposited them in every city with famous wealthy men, and what he has buried underground at various places, is also mentioned in these rolls. I am handing over these rolls to you. Put me to death and obtain possession of all this wealth".

Amir Ismail laughed and said to Umru: "I have been a king since the last twenty years, and during all this period

I have not allowed a single dang or dirham to enter my treasury without a just cause and through unlawful means, and nor have I forcibly taken possession of anybody's wealth. God knows, and the people of God also know, that the wealth listed in your rolls has been obtained by you and by your F.6a brother through plunder and pillage. Your entire wealth is unlawful, detestable and worthy of God's wrath. May Allah protect me from desiring such wealth! If I bring this unlawful wealth into my treasury, I will have a thousand doubts about the legality of my own treasures, and I will not be able to spend a single dirham out of it in the way of God. I possess a strong hereditary faith in God and in His prophets and the Inspired Books.[39] I cannot be insolent towards God and the laws of the Sharia[40] of Mustafa, or take a single step beyond the limits of the Law. This wealth, though enormous it is, it will in every case be spent over others, and whereas I will have to answer for it on the Day of Judgment".

After the said happening, Amir Ismail ordered Umru to be kept in prison for some days. After the passage of these few days, when the troops of Umru were all scattered and dispersed, he then sent Umru with the rolls of buried wealth and treasures, which Umru had round his neck to the Caliph at Baghdad with his reliable men. The whole situation was explained to the Caliph. He (Amir Ismail) gave plenty of

alms in recognition of the fact, that his faith and that of his soldiers in the Holy Quran had increased, and became further strengthened.

From that place Amir Ismail returned to his capital thanking and praising God, and victorious and triumphant.[41] F.6b

[42]
(Nasihat) No. II.

On the Effects of True Religious Convictions of Kings.

F.6b

Sultan Mahmud has said:[43] O Sons of Mahmud know and know well, that the success and failure of administrative and governmental affairs of a Muslim king depends upon his good and bad religious faith. If there is firmness in the faith of the king, and he believes, that what the prophets have brought to the people through Divine Books is correct and true, and that there can be no doubt about it, this is the fundamental principle of Faith and the designation of True Faith is given to it. Due to the blessings of the king's faith and his firmness in it, his affairs of state succeed, and the objects and the needs of his subjects are also satisfied by God.

Whenever the king's faith in the religion of the Leader of the Apostles is firm and sound, it does not really matter if the king does not show excess in his devotions, religious observances, fasts, supererogatory prayers and (other) desirable acts of supererogation with regard to fasting and praying. Similarly, if there is no fault or defect in the religious belief of the king, the (sins of) the enjoyment and pleasures in which he indulges as a human being, are not taken into consideration, because

of his firm religious convictions. On the ground that he protects and propagates the faith, the evils and sins of his lower self are erased from the records of his life. It is strange that in spite of his failure in supererogatory devotions and his commitment of carnal sins, a king is ranked among the <u>Abdals</u> and if he is chaste in mind and devout in religious observances, he is the <u>Qutb</u>[44] of the world. F.7a

The proof of a king's true religious faith is, that he keeps the inhabitants of his kingdom on the path of the <u>Sharia</u>. Even if he is personally involved in carnal sins, (still) through the dignity and (power)[45] of his kingly authority and the prestige of his dominion, he introduces the orders of the <u>Sharia</u> in such a way, and so enforces its commands and prohibitions, that no one can dare to practise any forbidden or unlawful thing openly in his kingdom. The greatness of a religion-protecting king is beyond praise. For it is because of his protection and promotion of the Faith that the Mussalmans can devote themselves to their devotions, and worship in peace; that the orders of the <u>Sharia</u> of Mustafa become current in different countries; that the Orthodox creed[46] becomes dominant over other creeds; that the honour and the lives of the Mussalmans and of the mass of the Zimmis[47] are protected and secure, and the rites of Islam are raised to the dome of the sky. Are not the rewards for so many good

works, which are beyond calculation and computation, put to the credit of the religion-protecting king, who is the source of the creation of these good works and these virtuous actions and devotions? If he is negligent in his supererogatory fasts and prayers, and his mind is contaminated with human sinfulness, then because of his protection of the Faith, it is all washed. Compared to so many good deeds and prayers which his justice, beneficence, power and glory make possible for the people of God, what do the sins of his single soul matter?[48] F.7b

(You) should be firm in your religious convictions, and strive and try your level best to bring glory to the religion of Mustafa. For no reason must you fail in protecting the Faith, and allow any negligence in enforcing its orders of good and the prohibition of evil![49] You should perform (your duty) of promoting religion to the utmost. You should utilise your power and glory in doing so, so that Truth is established at the centre, and the rites of Islam are exalted. Let it not be, that Satan misleads you, and casts this thought into your mind: "As we are living amidst luxury and enjoyment; organising convivial parties and festivities; spending the money of Public Treasury on our personal pleasure and luxury, and in most of our use of our royal splendour and kingly pomp we are acting against the Sunnah, so how can we dissuade and prevent the subjects

from performing what the Sharia has prohibited through severe punishments, and insist on (the practice of) what is allowed? Alas! Alas! Consider these thoughts to be the evil instigations of Satan and thorns in the path of your salvation. Although it is true that the order of the good and the prohibition of evil should be imposed by kings and rulers on themselves first and then on others, still if they are unable to do so through their overpowering desire, F.8a and do not impose the order of the good and the prohibition of the evil on others also, and do not establish Truth at the centre, what will people say about the power and prestige of the dominion of kings and what name will they give to the "Supreme Command" of kings, when the kings neither perform the duty of living according to the Faith, nor do they fulfil the duty of protecting the Faith?

Monarchy will be futile if kings collapse in protecting the Faith, and will their "Supreme Command" not be unwholesome in this life and the cause of their captivity in the next? For the sum and head of a king's protection and promotion of the Faith is this, that the "order for the good and the prohibition of the evil" be enforced in his kingdom, and the Sharia made current among the seventy-two creeds.[50]

The religious scholars of the past have clearly and correctly described the signs of the true religious convictions of kings and their firmness in them.

One of the proofs of the firm religious convictions of kings is this. In their royal capital, in their cities, in their provinces, and in their towns, they appoint severe _muhtasibs_[51] and strict judicial officers,[52] and lend support to them with their power and prestige in all sorts of ways, so that they may be in a position to establish the dignity of ordering the good and prohibiting the evil among the Mussalmans, and may through severe punishments embitter the lives of all sinners in their affairs of sin and iniquity.[53] They should press hard the ears of all divulgers, revilers, and habitual sinners, and keep in numerous afflictions all those, who make these sins their trade and profession. Tavern-keepers, harlots and gamblers should be prevented F.8b from committing these sins. If prohibitions and restraints, insults and disgrace bear no fruit; they in spite of their claim to be Believers do not give up the open and public practice of their obscene vices and dirty sins; if respect for the Faith and fear of the king's orders do not dissuade them, the rich should be punished by the confiscation of their (property)[54] and the poor by imprisonment and reprimand. The tavern-keepers[55] should be exiled from the capital in order that they may settle down in secluded corners, but if they are Mussalmans, they should be treated relentlessly.[56] It should be so arranged, that no Mussalman indulges in drinking, and the sodomists be prevented by being flogged from behaving

like women and wailing and other sins. They should be treated very severely, so that they are compelled to leave the capital,[57] and go to countryside, and obtain their means of livelihood through farming and other lawful means. These groups of people, who have made dirty sins their profession, and whose unchecked and free movement in the capital brings disgrace to the rites of Islam, should not be allowed to go on with their lewd practices in the cities openly. Such groups should be directed to hide themselves outside the cities in towns and villages and in corners and huts. The holding of music parties and the construction of music halls should not be permitted, and if such buildings have been constructed, they should be knocked down, brick by brick.

In brief, the kings should not permit the open and public practice of anything forbidden by the <u>Sharia</u>, F.9a but if in secret and in private some persons, who are accustomed to the profession of these sins, no severe inquiries should be made about them. But whatever forbidden practices are observed by the <u>muhtasibs</u> and judicial officers or come to the notice of the general public, they should be totally uprooted and suppressed, and whatever is private and secret need not be revealed.[58]

The innovations[59] (bidat), which are injurious to the Sunnah should be overthrown as far as possible. The overthrow of a <u>bidat</u>, wherever it is seen, should be considered lawful, and the followers of Islam should be pressed to observe

mohalla by mohalla, street by street and house by house,[60] the five basic fundamentals of Islam, e.g. the Oath of Affirmation, (five obligatory) Prayers, Alms, Fasting, and Pilgrimage.[61] It should be made compulsory on the <u>muhtasibs</u> to warn all those, who are negligent in their prayers, and make all these pray by force and punishment, who have abandoned praying altogether. The rich should be asked to give alms to the poor, and no excuse be heard from them. And as regards those impudent persons, who during the month of Fasting (Ramazan) either eat in public or commit dirty sins openly, regardless of the respect due to the Faith or the fear of king's orders - such persons should be arrested and brought in chains before the king, so that he as a warning to the general public (inflict)[62] punishments on these impudent people, as the occasion requires, and may on the basis of his firm judgment (sanction) for them imprisonment, exile to distant places, death and slaughter. Opponents of the Orthodox Faith, and the enemies of the <u>Sharia</u> of the Leader of Apostles (should be punished).[63] Although (the Muslim rulers) devote themselves to the (elevation)[64] of the "True Word" and the glorification of the affairs of the Faith, they should exalt the rites of Islam; keep the Mussalmans on the highway of Islam, and bring the idolaters into the circle of (faith in) "the Unity of God", yet however the real objective of true Muslim kings behind their wars and

F.9b

battles should be the desire for <u>martyrdom</u>, and they should find their hearts replete with this desire. From the point of view of bravery, they should seek to overpower the enemy, but from the consideration of Faith, they should seek the path of martyrdom[65]..

....

(Sultan) Mahmud has spent his life in holy wars[66]. God[67] only knows his true intentions, for in so many far-flung campaigns, he was not particularly desirous of spoils and wealth[68]. In fact, from his childhood until the present time the main question in the sanctuary of Mahmud's bosom has been as to how and through what means all the opponents and molestors of the Faith may be overthrown, and how the leaders of Infidelity such as Brahmans, philosophers, and those because of whose leadership and guidance false religions remain firm, may be put to sword, and the light of Islam shine and illuminate the inhabited globe. And has Mahmud launched a few campaigns and holy wars in which he has not personally fought (against the molestors of the Faith)[69]? F.10a He has always appealed to the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds for the glory of martyrdom.

Mahmud has heard from pious religious scholars, that the amount of merit a king gets for his desire for martyrdom is not obtained by anyone else, who is not a king. The desire for martyrdom is a bounty from God, and it cannot be inscribed

on anyone's heart through (self) effort and struggle.

It is well known to all the people of Ghaznin as to[70] how many (precautionary) conditions (Sultan) Mahmud has observed in making appointments to religious offices, and how he has striven for and secured that the officers of the Sharia and the leaders of Tariqat[71] should be the pious and God-fearing men of the time. Avaricious, deceitful and the greedy should not be allowed to come near religious offices, and the dishonest should not be appointed as officers of the Sharia of Mohammad. "For the enforcement of the good and the prohibition of the evil", one hundred and thirty honest muhtasibs have been appointed in the capital alone; while in the cities, provinces and the towns dad-baks and muhtasibs, with power and prestige have been appointed on behalf of Mahmud. He has always considered this affair to be one of the most important affairs of the protection and the propogation of the Faith. He has personally undertaken the duty of appointing religious officers, and has observed all necessary conditions in doing so. F.10b

Besides Mahmud has neither permitted nor considered it desirable, that in the kingdom of Ghaznin, or in any of the territories which have come under his sway, any Jew, any fire-worshipper (tarsa) or any follower of contemptible or bad religion or cannons should be allowed to settle and propogate his false knowledge, or openly preach with arguments

the principles of his accursed religion.[72] In Mahmud's dominions, only the Orthodox Sunni scholars and men of attainment and learning have been allowed to live, and no professor of false doctrines has been permitted to settle there. No other learning was allowed to be current there except Tafsir (Quranic commentary), Hadis (the sayings and actions of the Prophet) and Fiqh (Muslim Jurisprudence), divested of all its (wrong) interpretations. Apart from the sciences, which are based on the understanding of what "God has said", and "the Prophet has said", no other science has been allowed to be current.

When Mahmud conquered Khwarazm, he heard[73] that in Khwarazm the Mutazila creed had obtained currency, and that many scholars were Mutazilites. He ordered these scholars to be exiled from Khwarazm, and if anyone after the promulgation of this order pronounced the name of the Mutazila creed, or even looked at it, he was to be sent in chains to Ghaznin. By God, who has rescued Mahmud in every difficulty, if the son of Sina, who is the propagator of the philosophy of the Greeks and the leader of philosophers in Muslim countries had fallen into the hands of Mahmud, he would have ordered him to be cut to pieces, and his flesh given to kites. Twelve years have passed since Abu Ali Sina has absconded from Mahmud.[74] F.11a

At the time when Mahmud went to Gujrat to overthrow the

idol of Manat (Somnat), he heard there, that there was a group of men called Sewra.[75] And the real[76]............ And all of them were materialists, and they seduced the wives of grocers, and led people towards the false faith of materialism (Dahriyat). Mahmud ordered all of them to be put to sword.

O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, know and be informed, that Mahmud has carried with him two desires from this world to the next. If it lies within your power, then for Allah, and through Allah, and for the sake of your salvation, and the promotion of your Faith, see to the fulfilment of these two important undertakings of the Prophet.[77]

The first desire which Mahmud took from this world to the next, was this. Mahmud had heard that the evil genius of philosophers, men of bad faith and materialists, had arisen in the lands of Islam from Baghdad. After the reign of Harun-ur-Rashid, the erring sects, false religion and false faith through their knowledge of astronomy, sorcery, magic, alchemy and medicines for sex-potency (aphrodisiacs) obtained access to the young Caliphs, and became their courtiers, and under the garb of these tricks, they gradually spread their false sciences in Baghdad, the capital of Islam, and from Baghdad they spread in other cities and realms. But in Mecca, Medina, Hijaz, Yamen, Egypt and Syria, the names of no other

sciences except _Tafsir_, _Hadis_, _Fiqh_ and the _Suluk_ of the[78] mystics were known, and they considered the philosoph- F.11b ical knowledge of these erring people as idle talk, the people of false faith and false religion were seldom found in these countries.[79] The idea is that after hearing and verifying the above condition, Mahmud wished to proceed to Baghdad with a warlike army; to offer one or two treasures by way of pledge to the Caliph of the time, and to request him, that in accordance with a list prepared by Mahmud, the teachers of false doctrines,[80] (philosophers), materialists and all opponents of _Sharia_ of the Leader of Apostles, who had taken refuge in Baghdad, and multiplied in massive numbers, be handed over with all their literature to the officers of Mahmud, so that Mahmud could put each of these sources of evil to death in his own presence, and the name and the trace of the opponents of the Faith of Ahmad (Prophet Mohammad) and of their literature, may be erased from the capital of Islam.[81] When the news about the people of bad faith in Baghdad will be heard in other countries, the people of bad faith in those countries will also raise their hands. By their extirpation (at Baghdad) and the suppression of their sciences, the rules of the _Sharia_ of Mustafa will be illuminated and established throughout the world, and they will not retain any faith in their false religions and untrue creeds, which have taken hold of their minds, and

their false sciences will not come to the lips of any created being[82]......................................

..........that if Mahmud, with that power and dignity, soldiers and servants, and the means and requisites, which he had obtained from the Court of the Lord of the world, had gone to India once more, he would have put all the Brahmans[83] of India, who in that land of extensive length and breadth, are the cause of the continuance of the rules of Infidelity and of the firmness of the laws of Shirk (idolatory). He would have cut off the heads of about two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand Hindu leaders; and until the whole of India had accepted Islam, he would not have put his Hindu-slaughtering sword back in its sheath. For Mahmud[84] was a Shafii, and according to Imam Shafii, the order for Hindus is "either Death or Islam", - i.e. they should either be put to death or they embrace Islam. It is not lawful to accept Jizya from the Hindus, for they had neither a Prophet nor (Revealed)[85] Books. F.12a

If (only) these two designs had been accomplished by Mahmud, what would have been his honour before God and His Prophet!

Now, O sons of Mahmud and O kings of Islam! Set your heart upon the realisation of these important religious undertakings with your heart and soul. Mahmud was unable to attain this twofold wealth, but may be that you are exalted

unto it. God willing!

O sons (of Mahmud) and O religious kings, know that the complete extirpation of the opponents and the molesters of the religion of Mustafa brings to kings a merit in the future world, which is beyond all computation. However, their overthrow in this world means the suppression of the enemies of the king's realm and his administration; and this great benefit, which accrues in this world from the overthrow of the enemies of the Faith, has been seen by Mahmud in the time-limited period of his reign. It is no secret to any scholar or man of wisdom, that if a man, under the circumstances which confront him, employs his worldly power and prestige in overthrowing the enemies of God and of the religion of Mustafa, and with pure intentions and right belief in which there is not a particle of any desire for personal reputationor worldly gain, overthrows the enemies of God, and in order to elevate and glorify the Faith disgraces and insults the opponents of the Sharia, and keeps them destitute and without credit, and does not permit the enemies of the Orthodox Faith to be honoured under any pretext - then would it ever be, that God with the supreme power and authority He possesses, permit the enemies of the Faith to overthrow such a man or allow him to become destitute and helpless? In this matter the kings of Islam, whose faith in God and His Prophet is firm, must reflect

F.12b

carefully. Can there be any political enterprise of the king for overthrowing the enemies of his kingdom better than this - that they for Allah and through Allah extirpate the enemies of the Faith and keep them in disgrace, indigence, helplessness, poverty and discredit?

(Sultan) Mahmud with the power he weilded in this temporary world, always strove to protect the Faith and to give dignity to the Sharia, and to the extent of his ability, F.13a he extirpated the molesters of the Faith and the Sharia, and kept them abject and distressed. On account of his being so religious, he always treated them as his enemies, kept them as his enemies, and dealt with them as his enemies. He was not charmed by the presents, gifts and valuables they brought, and never looked at them with the eye of true favour.[86] So the Almighty God, with His great power and extreme mercy, did not allow any enemy to molest or to gain ascendency over (any of) the territories of Mahmud or to obtain supremacy over his kingdom.[87] If anyone brought the name of opposition or hostility towards Mahmud to his lips, or attacked him and his kingdom, God put him as a captive in Mahmud's power.

This advice ends here. If the kings of Islam realise its value by extirpating the molesters of the religion of God and the Sharia of Mustafa, they will attain to salvation in this as well as the next world, God willing!

With reference to this Nasihat - that the "True Religious

Convictions of the King" are necessary for the benefit of the Faith and the Government, the case of the Commander of the Faithful, Harun-ur-Rashid, bears testimony to its truth.

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat.

Asmai states as follows in the Tarikhi-Khulafa-i-Abbasi.[88] When Harun-ur-Rashid obtained the office of the Caliphate, the honour and the dignity of the Caliphate was raised to the sky. No Umayyad or Abbasid Caliph had received such obedience to his orders or submission to his authority F.13b as the Commander of the Faithful Harun(ur-Rashid)[89] did. The main parts of the inhabited globe came under his control, and his orders were obeyed in the East and the West. His royal dignity and pomp were such, that when he rode out, thirty thousand Arabs accompanied him with the proclamation, "Make way", and their voice was heard from many farsangs.[90] It seemed to the people that through his great dignity, authority, greatness and terror, the Earth and the Sky would be joined together. Great conquests took place during his Caliphate and the rebellious and the contumacious persons of the whole world became obedient and submissive to his Court. The treasures of the entire world were brought to his Treasury. In spite of all this majestic power and dignity, he used to visit the houses of the religious devotees and the recluses of the day, on foot. In the service of the pious and the religious men, he sought blessings and listened to the advice

and the sermons of the unworldly religious scholars (Ulama-i-Akhirat)[91] with all sincerity, and appealed to them to pray for his good end. During the period of his Caliphate, he went for haj twelve times and made pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet (peace be on him).

In brief, it appeared to him (Harun-ur-Rashid) one day: "What am I to say about my sins and crimes? All my splendour and pomp, (grandeur and dignity),[92] and my ways and means of living are opposed to the Sunnah of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs. I have brought money into my F.14a treasury by whatever means I possibly could. I have inflicted punishments out of love for the continuation of my own dominion. So many state affairs of mine have been accomplished according to my desires. May it not be, that they are the miracles of a sinner (istidraj),[93] for I do not find in myself the devotion and prayers of the pious. I do not perform my duties towards God, and neither do I find the principles of true devotion in my heart. (Yet) I see territories conquered and divine help so indissolubly tied with my banners and my kingdom. Whenever I think of any important affair, and desire for its accomplishment, next day that affair is crowned with success more than what I had (actually)[94] conceived. In brief, no misfortune, illness, affliction or sorrow befalls me or my family, and every day my power grows more. I am afraid lest these continuous blessings on me may not be due

to the deception of God,[95] and that my end may not be good, and I may be one of those, who are ruined".

Asmai, who was one of the servants of his Court, has related, that the Commander of the Faithful reflected over the matter carefully for a whole year, that he was extremely gloomy about it, and would not go near any enjoyment or pleasure. After a good deal of constant reflection, he decided unto himself: "I will ask about this difficulty from Fuzail Ayaz, who is one of the pious men of the day, and has become the attendant at the tomb of the Apostle,[96] and is in Medina...If I ask about my problem from worldly religious scholars (Ulama-i-dunya), they will deceive me in such a way with their flattery, that I will start considering my sins as my virtues and end by regarding myself as one of the elect". While he was thinking over this matter, the time for <u>haj</u> arrived and he went for <u>haj</u>; performed all the rites of the <u>haj</u> at Mecca, and then proceeded to visit the Prophet's (peace be on him) tomb at Medina. Fuzail was there then. One night the Caliph went all alone to Fuzail's house, and sat there by the door just like other pilgrims and needy men. Fuzail's servant saw a man in front of the door at midnight. He did not inform Fuzail about it, (but) said to the Commander of the Faithful: "This is the hour of midnight;[97] (if you really have any business) come in the

F.14b

morning". The Caliph did not depart at the servant's words, and continued sitting for a long time on the floor by the door. The servant came out of the house again for some business, and the Caliph said to him: "I am the Commander of the Faithful; I have got a religious difficulty, and wish to consult Fuzail about it. Inform him of my coming".

The servant informed Fuzail about the situation. Fuzail called the Caliph in, and made him sit with respect by his side. The Commander of the Faithful wept bitterly before Fuzail, and spoke of his anxiety. Fuzail was greatly touched by the Caliph's difficulty and tears. He also wept a good deal, and plunged into thoughtfulness for a while, and then said to the Commander of the Faithful: "If you promise to repent, and refrain from your past sins, to compensate for your sins by charity and good deeds, to please your adversaries to the extent of your ability, and to go near anything unrighteous hereafter, I will give you a (joyful tiding)[98]?" F.15a

The Caliph promised, and undertook to carry out the instructions of Fuzail fully.

Then Fuzail said: "The Caliph ought to know, that the good end or bad end of a man is hidden from human knowledge; apart from what the prophets have revealed on the basis of their inspiration, no-one knows for certain that the end of a particular man will be good or bad. One man is given to

religion and another to sins; yet nobody can say for sure, that the former will go to Heaven and the latter to Hell. And since divine destiny is unknown, the Caliph should under no conditions give up hope in the mercy of God. I have heard from the Associates of the Companions of the Prophet, that if a Caliph or a king possesses firmness and constancy in his religious faith, then in spite of the fact that he cannot refrain from sins, yet because of the virtue of his faith, his political and administrative designs will succeed; his personal sins will be forgiven, and the needs of his subjects will also be satisfied. For the root of firm religious faith, though it may be weakened by sins, yet is not annihilated, and thus the firm religious faith of the king always becomes a means for the attainment of his own needs and those of his subjects. I consider the F.15b successful accomplishment of your state affairs to be the fruits of your true religious convictions, and the result of your good intentions".

Harun-ur-Rashid said to Fuzail: "Faith and intentions and constancy are the actions of the heart, but how have they been revealed to you?"

Fuzail replied: "First because of this, that you have come to my door. I have heard, that in spite of your great dignity and prestige, you go on foot at night time to the houses of recluses, and this signifies your true religious

convictions. I have also heard constantly, that you have made effective arrangements for the extirpation of the molesters of the Faith, and that during your reign no follower of bad religions and evil cannons is allowed to say anything against the precepts of the Orthodox Sunni religious scholars, or associate himself with evil creeds. This is, of course, a result of your true religious faith. That during your reign the "Order for the good and the prohibition of the evil" is enforced in Baghdad, is also a proof of your virtuous Faith. I have heard that you (give)[99] religious offices to pious people; that you treat sin and iniquity as your enemies; that you overthrow oppression by extirpating the oppressors, and that regrators, usurers, cheats and swindlers cannot regrate, take usury, or cheat and swindle openly during your reign. All these governmental undertakings of yours bear a testimony to your true religious convictions. I have also heard, that at the time of dispensing justice you are not influenced by any recommendations, and because of your strictness and the fear of your punishments, people have withdrawn their hands from the (open and public practice)[100] of unlawful actions. The sinners and the iniquitous are not able to practice their sins openly. After so many achievements, which have been possible for you on account of your virtuous faith, do not feel desperate on account of your individual sins, and do not give up hope

F.16a

in the mercy of the Most Merciful. He, who overthrows and disgraces the enemies of the Faith, will not be disgraced and made destitute, or remain veiled from the beneficent eye of God".

After this discourse Fuzail continued, "I have heard this from 'Umra Dinar' and he from 'Sad bin Masib'[101], and the latter from 'Umar Khattab'. Umar repeatedly used to say, "Had it been in my power, I would not have left the molesters of the Faith and the opponents of the Sharia alive on this earth; they would not have got (rescue)[102] from me until all of them became True Believers and Mussalmans. I cannot do this because of their large number. But I can keep them in disgrace, impotence, indigence and dishonour, and refrain from treating them as friends. I have sent orders to all the realms of Islam, and directed my (commanders)[103], amirs, and tax collectors, that they are to keep the molesters and opponents of the Faith in disgrace. Out of regard for the dignity and honour of Mohammad's Faith, they should have dealings of enemies with the opponents (of the Faith), and never treat them as friends, for the friends and well- F.16b wishers of the Faith do not treat its enemies as friends and brothers[104]."

And I, Fuzail, say that "Every king and caliph, who in order to support the Faith of Mustafa removes all ties of tenderness and compassion with its enemies, and keeps them

in disgrace and helplessness, whose heart is always devoted to the elevation of the Faith and to the destruction of infidelity, and is firm and true in his religious faith, it is to be hoped that his personal sins will not fall heavy upon him. For the virtue of protecting the Faith is beyond computation, while the sins of a single individual, even if that individual happens to be a king are limited and calculable. That which is limited has no significance against that which is beyond reckoning".[105]

When the Commander of the Faithful, Harun (ur-Rashid), heard this advice from Fuzail, he kissed Fuzail's feet, and the windows of divine forgiveness opened in his heart. He sought to present Fuzail with some purses of gold. Fuzail did not accept them. "If I accept gold," said Fuzail, "my advice will not find acceptance in the hearts of men".

Harun-ur-Rashid in thanksgiving for the fact that his mind had been relieved of such (great) anxiety, distributed an enormous amount of money among the people at Medina; repented sincerely and did not go near any sin again. He fulfilled all that he had promised Fuzail concerning his subjects.[106] The people of Baghdad praised Fuzail immensely.

[107] (Nasihat) No. III

On the Blessings of Taking Counsel by the King. F.17a

Sultan Mahmud says: O sons of Mahmud know, that prophets are the best and the greatest of all created beings, and that our Prophet (peace be on him) is the best and the greatest of them all; and to our Prophet (be peace on him), in spite of the dignity of perfect wisdom and the continuity of Divine Revelation with reference to consultation, this order was sent from God.

"Consult them in your affairs"[108].

How then can those, who are not guided by Divine Inspiration, whose judgment is clouded by (personal) desires, and in whom Divine Inspiration (Ilham) is mixed with the vile darkness of sins, succeed in arranging the affairs of the government and the state without the advice of their wise and loyal well-wishers, and without consulting the faithful and experienced men of their court? You ought to know, that the supreme object of the commanding soul (نفسِ امّاره), than which no other object can be higher, is vanity and wilfulness. This is especially the case with kings, whose souls, because of their tremendous power, become equal in strength to a thousand furious elephants. If the king subdues this power and wantonness, refrains from vanity, and decides the affairs of his state in consultation with his counsellors, then it is not that the blessings of God, the Almighty, shine upon his forehead, and all his state-affairs end in success and

prosperity?

All the past and present scholars of the world have known, do know, and will know, that the curing of evil, the suppression of mischief, the undertaking of important tasks, the framing of stable regulations, and the discernment of the ultimate good are (all) dependent upon taking counsel from the experienced and wise well-wishers of the government and the selected few of the kingdom. F.17b

And the great men of the religion and the kingdom of Mustafa have said: It is not a small undertaking or an easy affair to keep the seventy two creeds in a way which is approved by knowledge and reason; to put the affairs of the religion and the kingdom on a firm basis; to close the path of disturbances and troubles; to prevent the evil doings of enemies of the kingdom and the struggles of rebels against the kingdom; to establish the glory of justice and equity; to raise the dignity of Islam; to secure the execution of the laws of the Sharia in all matters appertaining to the nobles and the commons, the strong and the weak, and the supporters as well as the opponents of the king; to know the virtues and the vices of the people; to find out the good and bad of men; to discover the ranks and grades of every individual; to chastise the rebellious and the refractory; to make the people of the country obedient and submissive; to secure the honour due to good birth and noble lineage;

to see that the mean and the humble born pass their lives in poverty and disgrace; the religious and the wordly rights go to those who are entitled to them; tyranny and oppression are overthrown; sin and iniquity are obliterated and eliminated from the hearts of men; shopkeepers and the shameless are prevented from resorting to fraud and deceit, cheating and trickery; the fearless and the reckless are kept in fear and tremor; the disobedient and the self-willed are brought within the circle of obedience; the enemies of the Orthodox Faith remain suppressed and desperate; infidelity loses dignity; oppression ceases to exist; the traditions and practices of the enemies of the Sharia are overthrown from the cities and the territories of the Mussalmans; the glory of holy campaigns and holy wars, dwells in the minds of men, while virtue appears sweet to them; they develop hatred for meanness; the army becomes numerous and remains well-equipped and in good order; the royal treasury becomes full and is made full through lawful means; the permitted means of livelihood become current among people, and unlawful and depraved (means of livelihood) are forsaken; both the king and the people through the (proper) management of their affairs, entertain hopes of salvation and the desire for high spiritual grades; from abundance of reforms the desire for salvation increases from time to time, and the hopes of (eternal) praise and glory, germinate in the breasts of

F.18a

Mussalmans (baiza).

Until the kings have the support and advice of the wise well-wishers of the kingdom and the counsel of sincere Buzurchemehrs[109] of the court, these objects cannot be attained; nor can the affairs of their kingdoms and the schemes of government be given permanency, and organisation and conciliation be established in the realms of kings.

Mahmud has read in the "Testament of Jamshed"[110], which Jamshed composed for his descendants; "O descendants of Kaimurs, who attain to Rulership, know that Prophethood was bestowed upon our great uncle Shis[111] and his descendants, F.18b while Rulership was conferred upon our great ancestor Kaimurs[112] and his descendants. Almighty God has guided our uncle Shis and his descendants by Divine Inspiration; whatever they say or do is done through the power of Divine Inspiration, and consequently there are no errors in their words and deeds. But to us, who are the descendants of Kaimurs and are kings, the Almighty God has given the sword of earthly power, and for the guidance of our hearts[113], He has given us wazirs, so that we may through our judgment and the blows of our sword, keep the world populous, prosperous, in good order and consolidated. Great errors and faults arise in the judgment of kings through the interference of their own desires and that of Satan. If suddenly an idea occurs to kings and they want to translate it into practice, or they

want to execute the affairs of their kingdoms according to that idea, they commit a folly, and fall into error. It is for these reasons that kings have sought recourse to consulting wise men and 114 hakims, so that if some erroneous idea comes into their minds or in the mind of one of their counsellors, it will not come to the minds of the rest, because consensus of opinion is seldom witnessed on a wrong judgment.

So, O sons of Kaimurs, it is your duty not to undertake the conduct of your affairs of government and the kingdom without taking counsel from your wazirs and wise men, so that you may not fall into error. You are to know, and know well, that the mistakes and errors of kings are not like the errors and follies of ordinary men, for by the errors and mistakes of the kings in the affairs of their F.19a kingdom, the whole world is uprooted, and turned upside down. And hakims have said: "In important affairs and big undertakings, the thoughts of kings are mingled with their terror and power, and consequently kings do not consider the possibility of the failure of an undertaking. And as because the thoughts of a king would be mixed with his terror and power, the king will certainly, by virtue of his supreme power, think that on whatever he strikes his fist, he will be crowned with success and victory, and that any order he issues will be executed. Such things come to him because of

the authority and power inherent in Rulership, and consequently he is led into errors. It is in this sense that hakims have said: "No advice for kings".

So. O kings, it is incumbent upon you to consider taking advice as the essence of your governmental affairs and to regard vanity a great blemish in Rulership".

O sons of Mahmud know, that hakims have laid down numerous distinguishing features of right judgment and right thinking of kings and wazirs.

The first distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that the counsellors consider the good of both the parties, i.e. their thoughts lead to the good of the ruler and the ruled.

The second distinguishing feature of right judgment is this, that the counsellors keep in mind both the success and the failure of the undertaking, and their attention is not centred only on one aspect of the undertaking.

The third distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that the accomplishment of an undertaking does not cause detriment to the religion of ruler and his subjects. F.19b

The fourth distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that it does not lead only to temporary advantage ending in ruin in the long run, but that it serves as a surety for ultimate good.

The fifth distinguishing feature of right judgment is,

that its use proves to be a source of good repute and not of infamy.

The <u>sixth</u> distinguishing feature of correct judgment is, that it converts the hostility of enemies into friendship, and not that friends turn adversaries.

The <u>seventh</u> distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that people feel inclined towards that particular undertaking, and are anxious for its accomplishment, and not that its realisation excites the hatred of the people, and they develop an aversion to it.

The <u>eighth</u> distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that it sounds crooked to fools, idiots, and those who are deficient in judgment, and they in their pride, attribute it to an error.

The <u>ninth</u> distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that it serves as a means to (universal) ease and comfort, and not that it leads to endless toil and hardship.

The <u>tenth</u> distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that the majority of men of perfect wisdom consider it up to the mark, and do not exhibit any opposition to it.

The <u>eleventh</u> distinguishing feature of right judgment is, that its exercise and contemplation are repugnant to vanity.

O sons of Mahmud, it is incumbent upon you to consider right judgment as one of the important affairs, and not to treat it lightly and frivolously, because the consequences of

a scheme, which leads to the prosperity of the whole world is not a trifle. It is for this reason, that hakims F.20a have said: "Right judgment is the lieutenant and vicegerent of Divine Inspiration, and that erroneous thoughts and unsound reflection are the evil incitements of Satan and Iblis".[115]

Asif Barkhiya,[116] who was the wazir of Prophet Solomon and also his cousin (khalzada) has said regarding the greatness and exquisiteness of right judgment: "Right judgment coming from God is a great bounty for His creatures".

That (judgment) is called right judgment, which is written in the Preserved Tables,[117] but how can this flash in the mind of a man of judgment, because unless a person is created for eternal felicity, right and well directed thoughts, which are the surety for the religious as well as the worldly welfare, and which lead to the attainment of the most important objects bringing eternal bliss, are not cast into his breast by way of inspiration. What greater blessing and felicity can be conceived for men of right judgment than this, that they by the (light)[118] of their foresight and discerning judgment, comprehend what is going to happen or not, which is inconceivable and engraved (only) on the Preserved Tables, and they advocate it by arguments and proofs? They contemplate the decrees of destiny with their perspecuity before they actually happen. Is this not

a share in the status of Prophethood?

The sons of Mahmud ought to know, that from amongst men of True Faith, two persons have been kings of the inhabited globe (ruba-i-maskun) - Solomon and Alexander. One of them was a prophet and about the other there is a F.20b difference of opinion, but then there is no doubt in that Alexander was one of the saints.[119] To both of them Government and Rulership were means of elevating the spiritual status of kings and securing the salvation of their subjects. The greatest blessing which Almighty God vouchsafed to them after Prophethood and Saintship was the gift of wazirs of perfect intelligence. Thus Asif was the wazir of Solomon and Aristotle[120] the wazir of Alexander, and both of them were men whose judgments were composed of right thinking and rectitude and no error. In consequence, nothing but good and righteousness infused their government and rulership. Hence the rule of these two kings became a wonder in the (history) of to-day and yesterday, and both these wazirs after obtaining spiritual bliss became proverbial wazirs of past and present. Their name and fame will remain imprinted on the hearts of men until the Day of Judgment.

Furthermore, the fame of Ardsher Babakan and Nausherwan, although they neglected the True Faith[121] found currency on the lips of friends and foes alike and written in the histories of Arabia and Ajam.[122] Is it not so that the glories of their

administration and government have remained in the world through the good effects of the judgment of Abr Sam[123] and Buzurshemehr - the wazirs of those two kings?

The object behind mentioning these kings and their wazirs is (to show) that right judgment is a great bounty, and that this bounty is vouchsafed by God to a chosen few, whose glories become current in the world and flow on the lips of men. But often in the case of some people, who shun reason and rectitude some of their undertakings are accomplished according to their heart's desire by mere luck of stars. And they, because of the miracles of sinners,[124] regard their faulty judgment as the means for the attainment of their purposes, for (normally) by acting according to wrong judgment and incorrect designs, the object in view is lost sight of. These people being proud of their deficient judgment become intoxicated and heedless, but in the end, of course, they are disgraced and dishonoured, and dwell in destitution and indigence in this world, and their ultimate end is not good. Besides, they will be a fuel for the fire of Hell for all eternity, and the traces of their ill-directed schemes survive in this world for years. F.21a

Illustrious kings have said: "The enforcement of a well directed scheme never leads to futile results. If by divine decree of the Almighty God the scheme is delayed (for time being), or some other reason or cause interferes in the

accomplishment of the rightly conceived design, it may be due to the fact, that (sometimes) wrongly conceived designs succeed in their accomplishment,(whereas the rightly conceived ones do not bear fruit). Although (normally) a wrongly conceived design aiming at religious and worldly welfare does not succeed, yet it has been said, though with some exaggeration: "An error is an error, though it might lead to good".[125] But (in fact) an error never leads to welfare.

The sons of Mahmud ought to know and know well, that right judgment is a great blessing, which God's creatures regard as a divine bounty, for indeed a man of right judgment is a wonder of creation. And such a person, whose judgment is always right is born on this earth only rarely, and F.21b after the passage of a good number of years. The king, who gets such a wazir, and who transacts governmental business on the advice of such a prudent person; who deviates from self-will; who recognises the worth and value of right judgment; who forsakes ideas sullied with desire, power and terror, such a king is crowned with success in this world, and will also be honoured with high heavenly grades in the next world. Is right judgment not a source of greatness on account of which a wazir is an alter ego of a king, and on whose judgment all the affairs of state are dependent?[126] There is no (greater) pride and glory for a king than a prudent wazir, who is inspired with right judgment, and there will be none.

On account of the fact, that without a wazir Monarchy is vain, the ancients have said: "A king without a wazir is like a bread without salt". If the wazir is wise, royal folly does not lead to the ruin and distress of the kingdom. For so many kings through hereditary right, ascended to thrones in their childhood, and their wazirs carried on the affairs of their kingdoms. But if the judgment of a wazir is defective, there will be no doubt about the ruin and distress of the kingdom. And (lastly) no-one is entitled to the post of a wazir, unless the nobles and the commons of the kingdom agree about his wisdom unanimously.

It is related in the book "Maasir-i-Umari"[127], that the Commander of the Faithful Umar several times declared from the pulpit: "How can I thank the Almighty Allah for His appointing me ruler over the kingdom of Mustafa, and F.22a for making so many great Companions of the Prophet, each of whom is like the Prophets of Israel adorned with perfect knowledge and wisdom, and from whose hearts because of the blessings of their companionship with the Prophet - the Lord of the world, an ocean of Inspiration descends, the advisers of my government, and the counsellors in the affairs of my Caliphate. The Lord has favoured me with the means to settle the affairs of the religion and kingdom of Mustafa with their consensus of opinion. He has made them kind and affectionate towards me, so that they do not hide from me any idea which

occurs to them concerning the welfare of government."

The wazirs of ancient days have laid down some characteristics, which distinguish a good counsellor.

The first characteristic is fear of God. If the counsellor is endowed with a hundred virtues and no fear of God, he will never be inspired with that correct judgment, which leads to ultimate good.

The second characteristic is his knowledge of ancient kings and the policies by which they escaped calamities. If he does not possess this knowledge, his judgment will be defective.

The third characteristic is, that he should be acquainted with the affairs of government as a confident and participant, because experience of governmental affairs matures the judgment.

The fourth characteristic is excellence of understanding - with a little reflection he discovers the fault and achieves the object. F.22b

The fifth characteristic is perfect discernment (of character). If the person lacks insight into human character, then in the understanding of important enterprises, he will make mistakes as to who is good and who is bad. Discernment is the excellent quality of a man's capacity to judge.

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The sixth characteristic is (absence) of greed. If the counsellor happens to be greedy and avaricious, then good

judgment will not dwell within him.

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The seventh characteristic is purity and (chastity), because good counsel, which is the surety of ultimate welfare, does not appear in the hearts of those polluted by sin and iniquity.

The eighth characteristic is, that a counsellor ought to be strong minded and constant, because right judgment does not enter the hearts of the weak-willed, the condoners of cowardice, and the lazy minded.

The ninth characteristic is, that the counsellors ought to be dignified and clement, because right judgment cannot be expected from the cowards (calves) and the malignant.

The tenth necessary characteristic of every counsellor is sincerity and loyalty to the king. As from this in particular all that is good stems in the hearts of the wise and loyal servants.

Buzerchemehr has said: "Judgment is a term, which is used with reference to the (thoughts of) kings and wazirs directed to the management of governmental affairs and important matters". The thoughts of others, which are more or less confined to their own individual affairs, and in which they consult their own friends and well-wishers F.23a are not called judgment, and are not termed as judgment. In the same way the descendants of prophets and kings are written and known as aal (family), but the descendants of

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Amr and Zaid are not termed so.

The object of Mahmud in alleging these premises about "consultation" is, that the sons of Mahmud and the kings of Islam should consider taking counsel from experienced counsellors as a good policy of government. They should not be enamoured by themselves, and make themselves notorious for their vanity, because vanity is a great defect in kings. If great kings have obtained success by being vain, they have considered such success insignificant and illusory. If they have attained their objects through faulty judgment, they have deemed it as a miraculous decree of God, the Most High. In important matters of taking advice, great kings have observed many conditions and taken great precautions. Consequently, very few errors arise from the advice they receive from their counsellors.

The first condition for taking counsel is the (free) expression of opinion by counsellors - that is the council should be conducted in such a way, that all counsellors should be able to bring forward fearlessly, whatever comes to their minds with regard to the matter under consideration. Each should be giving reasons and arguments for their opinions, and clearly discussing with each other and ultimately when all minds are settled and constant on one issue and no F.23b controversy remains, they should apply themselves to the execution of their decision. This in the terminology of

consultation is known as "the consensus of opinion". If there is no consensus of opinion, no reliance can be placed on the matter decided.

The second[131] (condition for taking counsel is this), that the counsellors ought to be fixed, and they should be nearly equal to each other in the qualities of experience, loyalty, and favour with the king. One (counsellor) should not be perfect in judgment and the other imperfect, one exalted and the other lowly, otherwise it would be like camel and cat incongruity.

The third condition for taking counsel is, that all counsellors should be privy to the secrets of the kingdom, and none of them should be unworthy of confidence. If the counsellor is not cognisant of the secrets of the state, his thoughts will not be able to lead to the good of the kingdom, just as a physician's medicine is ineffective until he knows the character and constitution, the temperament and the disease of his patient.

(The fourth condition for taking counsel is)[132] that the counsellors should enjoy complete and absolute security of their life from the king, so that in the advisory council they may have no reason to resort to flattery;[133] they speak out what is true and accurate, and consider this (truthful speech) the proof of their great loyalty. They may not be frightened of the ill-temper of the king, because as long

as the fear of the king troubles their hearts, their hearts and tongues will not speak sincere counsel. F.24a

(The <u>fifth</u> condition for taking counsel is),[134] that the king should keep his own views concealed. (First) he should hear the views of his counsellors as to what they say, and what their collective opinion is about the undertaking of the task. If the king discloses his opinion at the beginning, the counsellors will be necessitated, either willingly or unwillingly, to approve the decision of the king, and forsake their own views. No-one will have the guts to oppose the opinion of the king, and to argue against it. This fact has been proved by varified experience.

(The <u>sixth</u>[135] condition of taking counsel is), that the affairs of kingdom ought to be attended at the purest possible time - before eating and drinking. Many kings have fasted at the time of taking counsel, and have directed their counsellors as well to observe fasting. In the hope that sound thoughts may flash in the hearts of the king and his counsellors, they have ordered for going on pilgrimage to (holy[136] saints), and the distribution of alm, and have supplicated most humbly and prayed to God, the Self Sufficient. They have not regarded taking counsel as a mere frivolity, but the very foundation of all governmental affairs. They have not permitted any person to come near the advisory F.24b council, who does not know what consultation is, and does

not possess the knowledge that the judgment of God's creatures depends upon Inspiration from Allah with regard to good and evil.

(The seventh condition of taking counsel is)[137], that if the consensus of opinion of the counsellors is not opposed to vanity, dangers arise from the execution of that vain design. This consensus of opinion ought to be carefully reconsidered. It ought to be borne in mind, that any decision, which is in consonance with vanity, and which appears pleasing to mind, is not free from error. The understanding of this subtle principle regarding taking counsel is beyond the ken of the greedy victims of worldly vanity, and is rather the task of far-sighted wazirs. Every error into which kings have fallen has been due to the fact that their opinions have been in harmony with their vanity, which appeared pleasing and good to them. But as the opinion was in fact wrong, they have washed their hands from their kingdoms by deluding themselves it was right, and by following wrongful opinions and injudicious schemes. They failed to understand the error in the judgment of their counsellors and the virtues and vices of their counsellors. It is an endeavour to prolong the explanation of the above, and in order to be brief, I have written only this much here.

....[138]so that the sons of Mahmud and the kings of Islam in the management of

their affairs of government, should consult their well-wishing men of experience. The truth is, that the success of important affairs is dependent upon divine decree, and the F.25a key to this success lies in right judgment, which the Almighty God infuses into the hearts of His creatures. He has made the hearts of his servants the 'dwelling place' of Inspiration. In this dwelling place of Inspiration, both good as well as bad Inspirations occur. So if an idea strikes the mind of a king, and the king accepts and acts according to it before testing it on the touchstone of knowledge and wisdom, he commits a blunder. And because he has erred at the beginning, he ought not to hope for good at the end.....[139]

....

......................................O sons of Mahmud, know that kings have considered statements like the above as fallacious. Great kings have listened to the above words and attributed them to flattery. Without consulting their wise well-wishers and without the consensus of men of experience, they have not undertaken any important affair of government out of their own vanity and wilfulness. They have not considered vanity and wilfulness auspicious for the carrying out of governmental affairs, for they have known that through the wilfulness of kings, royal dynasties have been overthrown, kingdoms lost, and realms desolated.

It is well known to the majority of the grandees of

Mahmud's kingdom, how very careful Mahmud has been in consulting the well-wishers of his kingdom and realm. Amir Subuktigin gave Mahmud enormous advice and said:[140] "O son, it shines forth on your forehead, that you will be a great king. When a man is distinguished in society by attaining to the status of a king, he is faced with great tasks. Hence my son, if you wish to accomplish these tasks easily; to see your affairs end in felicity, and to have the repute of your glory and virtues circulated among men, never, and a thousand times never, allow your governmental affairs to be directed by vanity and wilfulness, and earn for yourself the reputation of being arrogant and wilful in your own kingdom and in others. Consider vain glory and wilfulness great blemishes in kings". F.25b

Mahmud in accordance with his father's testamentary advice has settled the affairs of his kingdom with the advice of so many loyal slaves, who were well known for their wise judgment. The more the agreement Mahmud found among his prudent and loyal counsellors, the more easily his affairs were settled. As to Mahmud's habit and routine of taking counsel, Ahmad Hasan, Altutnash, Arsalan Jazib, I'taghdi, Nasr Mishkan, the wise Hasiri and Hasan Aqili,[141] who were the counsellors of Mahmud, and were unique in giving counsel, they knew pretty well, that Mahmud valued the opinion of his counsellors, and was not deceived and beguiled by F.26a

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his own words and judgment. They did not keep their opinion secret, but expressed them fearlessly in the advisory council. Everyone supported his opinion with arguments, and cited reasons in favour of the acceptability of his judgment. Mahmud also expressed his own views and discussed matters with them in the same way. If these people showed in argument, that their views were preferrable to his, Mahmud was immensely pleased, and attributed this to their very great loyalty and sincerity. And Ahmad Hasan Maimandi, who was incomparable among the wazirs of the world, was Mahmud's class-fellow from his very childhood, and had a complete understanding of Mahmud's temperament. In the council he expressed whatever thoughts came into his mind, and tried to prove their superiority by reasons and arguments, and made a fuss of his own conclusions. "You undertake this important affair in accordance with my judgment", he would say, "if it fails, I will pay compensation for its cost to the treasury out of my own purse". If occasionally out of respect for Mahmud, he observed silence in advisory council, he would jot down his own views on a piece of paper, and at the bottom he would add, "the correct view is what I have put down, and what the king or the counsellors propose is wrong. If the important affair does not succeed in the way I suggest, I am answerable to the king". He would give the paper to Mahmud; Mahmud would go through it; disregard the

views of others, and act according to Ahmad's opinion. F.26b And the Almighty Allah would cause the important undertaking to succeed[143]....................................

....

Mahmud has read in the Tarikh-i-Mukhtasar of Waqidi,[144] that the Muslim conquest of the lands of Ajam, Syria and Egypt began during the Caliphate of Sikkiq-i-Akbar (Abu Bakr). But the period of his Caliphate did not last more than thirty months. In succession to him, Umar Khattab became Caliph with the unanimous consent of the Muhajirs and the Ansars. Through divine assistance during his Caliphate, a number of countries were conquered; the light of Islam reached the nooks and corners of the world; the Sharia of Mustafa (peace be on him) was enforced in the principal countries of the inhabited world, and the Orthodox Faith became prevalent over the false.

"By Umar the age of the kingdom was prolonged,
By Umar the doors of the Sharia were opened."

All the historians of Arabia and Ajam are agreed on this - that whatever, through his piety and poverty,[145] Umar Khattab achieved in his Caliphate of ten years and seven months - the conquest of countries; extirpation of enemies; enforcement of his commands; proclaiming the glory of Orthodox Faith, and the elevation of the prestige of Islam, all these have not been possible for any other Caliph or king from the

time of Adam until to-day. The overwhelming opinion of all wise men and scholars of to-day and yesterday is, that until the Day of Judgment, no-one else will be able to achieve similar success[146] F.27a

that Umar's orthodox traditions in the matter of taking counsel went to such an extreme limit, that if any undertaking, great or small, confronted him during his Caliphate, or if any calamity befell the affairs of government, he would summon to the Mosque of the Prophet all the Companions of the Prophet, both Muhajirs and Ansars, who were present then at Medina. He would consult the leading and distinguished Companions, and solicit the help of their views, but conceal his own views in the meeting. He would say to the leading Companions: "Tell me what do you think about this undertaking?"

The noble Companions knew his disposition, that he simply adored taking counsel, and was not self-opinionated. They would speak their minds to him about the success of the undertaking, and support their views with arguments and reasons. Everyone cited reasons for the superiority of his individual opinion. After listening to the discussion and debate, which ran on the lips of all well-wishers, they would come to a joint agreement - their minds being satisfied and at ease. The Commander of the Faithful would also be in agreement with them, and then the important undertaking

was resumed. If the Commander of the Faithful disagreed with them, he would express his opinion at the end of F.27b the discussion. If the Companions discerned his judgment to be sound, they would approve of it, praise it and say that his opinion was better than their own. But if the judgment of the Commander of the Faithful failed to prove convincing to them, they would explain its weaknesses to him in detail. All the affairs of the realm and the kingdom were settled in accordance with the consensus of opinion among the Companions. One of the chief reasons for the unity of hearts and the harmony of minds during his (Caliphate,[147] was)[148] the significant fact that he entered upon no important undertaking (without)[149] the consultation of the leading Companions.

The Commander of the Faithful Umar had appointed Abu Ubaidah Saqafi as the commander-in-chief of the army against Ajam at the beginning of his Caliphate. He despatched him to Madain.[150] By divine decree the army of Islam was discomfited, and defeated this time. Abu Ubaidah Saqafi and many other Muslims were martyred, in the battle against the Persians. The news reached Medina, and the Commander of the Faithful and all the Companions wept bitterly at the death of so many of their friends. They were disheartened, and prayed for the salvation of the martyrs. When this news was received, the time for *haj* was at hand. The Commander of the F.28a

Faithful Umar started for haj, but at the time of departure, he sent orders to the governors of Yamen, Hijaz, Bahrain, and other countries of Islam to equip and prepare the army of Islam, and despatch them to Medina, for the campaign against Ajam was at hand.

The Commander of the Faithful returned from haj, and alighted in the environs of Medina, not entering the city.

The Companions went to visit him, and asked him to explain to them his reason for not entering the city. The Commander of the Faithful replied: "You know a great campaign is before us. I have summoned the armies of Islam from all directions. This time I wish to proceed against Ajam in person, and seek vengeance from the Persians for (the death of) Abu Ubaidah Saqafi and the martyrs of Islam".

Abdur Rahman, son of Auf, remarked: "We have constantly seen the ways of the Commander of the Faithful. If even a minor issue needs attention, you consult your friends about it. (But) why do you not consult your friends about this grave campaign that is before us?"

"O Abdur Rahman", replied the Commander of the Faithful: "Islam is under many obligations to you. What you have represented is right, and is inspired by your loyalty to the Faith".

On the following day, Umar summoned the Companions to the place where he had alighted, and after the Muhajirs and Ansars

had gathered together, he mounted the pulpit and said to the Companions in a loud voice: "From the day I F.28b heard of the martyrdom of Abu Ubaidah Saqafi, and the discomfiture of the troops of Islam, I have neither slept to my satisfaction, and nor have I eaten sufficiently. Most of the time I am in great anxiety. (Now) what do you propose? Do we seek vengeance for the Mussalmans against the Persians or do we hide our heads from fear of their numbers?"

All the great Companions unanimously replied: "This expedition ought to be undertaken as soon as possible. We ought not to feel frightened of the overwhelming number of the Persians, for we are on the side of right, and they are in the wrong, and truth has always prevailed against falsehood. The Prophet (peace be on him) has told us that we shall prevail over the Persians, and that you, Umar Khattab, will distribute among us the treasures of the <u>Kisras</u> and the <u>Qaisars</u>[151] in the Mosque of the Prophet (peace be on him)".

The Commander of the Faithful was delighted with this reply, and the general agreement among the Companions. This joy was clearly visible on his august forehead. He again addressed the Companions: "You know that Madain has been the capital of the <u>Kisras</u> for the last two or three hundred years. The foundation of the Persians is very firmly rooted,

and they have collected a voluminous number (of troops) from every tribe and clan. If in such a campaign I do not participate in person - a campaign in which the kingdom of so many thousand years has to be uprooted, how will the Arab army put forth all its efforts in war and battle, and receive the cry of submission from them?" F.29a

When the Companions heard these words, they were all silent and submitted no reply.

"Why don't you answer me?" the Commander of the Faithful asked.

Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet (peace be on him), who was famous among the Quraish for the excellence of his judgment, said to Umar: "If the Caliph has resolved upon proceeding in person against Ajam, and will go there in any case, there is no need for taking counsel. But if he wishes to undertake this campaign after consultation, he better make it clear to us, so that we may set forth in detail, whatever thoughts strike us about this campaign."

The Commander of the Faithful replied: "If I set my mind on an undertaking ten times, I will not undertake it unless your judgment and your consensus of opinion support me. You know thoroughly well, that I am not self-opinionated, or wilful in my judgment and decisions. Every task I undertake is with your advice. Say whatever comes to your minds about this expedition, so that we may discuss it, and then

undertake the campaign against the Persians in accordance with what you and I jointly decide".

Abbas said: "It does not seem to me advisable, that the Commander of the Faithful should go for campaigning against Ajam in person,* leaving Medina. He should not leave the circumference of Inspiration and the capital of the government and the Faith and the tomb of the Prophet, which is the fountain of celestial light, and decide to proceed F.29b to Madain. May be that the army of Islam is defeated this time also, for no-one can forecast the divine decrees as to what is going to happen. If the Commander of the Faithful remains with the army, and the Bedouins of Arabia come to know of its defeat, and find that Medina is empty (of troops), they will molest it in a hundred ways. And when the Persians ascertain that the Caliph of the Mussalmans and the shield of Islam is with the army, all their groups and tribes will go into action. They will put in every effort to pursue the army of Islam; will follow hot on their heels, and leave none alive in Medina. A great disaster will befall Islam, and all the affairs of the Mussalmans will be cast into disorder and confusion. Untilthe Day of Judgment, it will be impossible to retrieve by force of arms or treasures a disaster like this. But if the Commander of the Faithful with good fortune stations himself at the capital of the Faith and the realm; if an efficient officer in consultation

with his friends is appointed (by the Caliph) with well-organised and well-equipped troops against Ajam, and if other troops are despatched constantly for their aid, then it is to be hoped that Ajam will be subdued soon. In Medina as a result of the august presence of the Commander of the Faithful, the hearts of the Mussalmans will be strengthened. If, God forbid, the army of Islam is again defeated - for it is impossible to know the divine decrees of good and evil, then as the Commander of the Faithful shall be firmly seated on the caliphal throne, he can appoint another commander, equip an even better army, and send it on F.30a for the campaign".

"What do you say?" the Commander of the Faithful asked the other leading men.

Usman, Ali, Abdur Rahman (bin) Auf, Talha, Zubair, Abdullah Masud[152] and other leading Companions, said unanimously: "We agree with the opinion of Abbas".

The Commander of the Faithful Umar said: "Since you all hold an unanimous opinion about my (not going)[153] in person, I drop the idea. Now you should arrive at an unanimous conclusion, and tell me which one of you I should appoint commander of this campaign, and assign the army to his care?"

One person suggested the appointment of Usman, and another proposed that Ali ought to be sent, and others came forward with other proposals. The Commander of the Faithful

stood silent on the pulpit, while his friends discussed the appointment of the commander of the army. They could not settle their minds about one single person. While they were carrying on their discussion with each other, suddenly a letter of Sad Waqas[154] arrived from Yamen. In it he had written: "I have equipped four thousand horses and four thousand foot for the campaign against Ajam. I am waiting for the directions of the Commander of the Faithful. I will lead the army wherever he commands".

The Commander of the Faithful read the letter of Sad Waqas so loudly from the pulpit, that its contents became clear to all the Companions. Abdur Rahman shouted aloud twice: "I have got it, I have got it!"

The Commander of the Faithful asked him: "What have you got?"

"I have found out the commander of the army you are looking for", replied Abdur Rahman.

"Who is he?" the Commander of the Faithful asked.

"The commander of the army competent for this campaign, is Sad Waqas", replied Abdur Rahman (bin) Auf. "He embraced Islam before others did; he is also distinguished for his relationship with the Prophet of God, and he is of an extremely sound mind, which will not waver an inch against the orders of the Commander of the Faithful. He is also unrivalled in valour, and his leadership will be an honour F.30b

to the Arab tribes, and none will maintain any objections to his appointment".

When Abdur Rahman (bin) Auf finished speaking, all the leading men applauded his judgment, and they were determined on the appointment of Sad Waqas as commander. The Commander of the Faithful summoned Sad Waqas to Medina, appointed him commander, assigned the army to his care, and despatched him on to the campaign against Ajam.

Sad Waqas marched with his army towards Madain. The Commander of the Faithful issued an order, that the armies of Islam should join from (all) directions. Allah, the Almighty, granted success and victory to the army of Islam. Madain, which had been the capital of so many Kisras, fell into the hands of the Mussalmans. Through the benedictions of the hadis of the Prophet (peace be on him), which has been related about the conquest of Ajam, and through the blessings of the consensus of opinion among the leading Companions, the treasures and buried wealth, jewels, and valuables (collected by) the Emperors of Ajam during two or three thousand years, fell into the hands of the army of Islam. Valuables beyond reckoning were obtained. The Arab army performed a task, the glories of which will last on the pages of time until the 'Day of Judgment'. The religion of
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the Magians, and the community of the fire worshippers were extirpated completely. They overthrew their fire-temples

and places of worship. They suppressed Incest with the F.31a might of their sword. The light of Islam illuminated the kingdom of Ajam, and the inhabitants of the land became so obedient and submissive, that Salman Farsi, who was well-known for his other worldly and retired ways, and his piety and privation, was appointed governor of Ajam[156]..............

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..................................the Commander of the Faithful Usman was martyred by rebels, and such a calamity befell Medina and such contentions arose, that the surviving Companions, who were present as well as those who embraced Islam after the death of the Prophet of God, came to pay their homage to the Commander of the Faithful Ali. Ali, in his great religious zeal, wished to settle the affairs of the Caliphate as soon as possible; to unify the hearts of the people once more, and to re-establish order and government. But because of the strife and contention, which had appeared, this was not possible. The brothers and cousins of the martyred Caliph were governors and officers in every territory, and possessed troops. They raised some trouble every second day. Due to this, differences and division among the Companions increased. Soon afterwards Talha and Zubair[157] alienated themselves from Ali, and went to Mecca. They made Ayesha, the Commander of the Faithful, their leader. They were further joined by two brothers of Usman. F.31b

They collected an army, and proceeded to Basra to seek revenge of Usman.

Mu'awiya[158] rebelled in the territory of Syria. None came to offer allegiance to Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, from any region or territory of which a member of the family of Usman was a governor and ruler. Thus some joined hands with Mu'awiya, and some with Talha and Zubair.

The Commander of the Faithful Ali, in order to fight Mu'awiya, wished to proceed to Iraq, so that he could equip his armies there and then make advance to Damascus to suppress the evil of rebellion. He did not consult the leading Companions in Medina about this campaign. Sad Waqas, Abdullah son of Umar, Usama bin Zaid, Mughairra Shubah, Abu Ayyub Ansari[159] and others from amongst the Companions, who had the status of counsellors and advisers approached the Commander of the Faithful Ali, and represented: "It does not appear advisable to us, that the Commander of the Faithful should proceed to Iraq, or even march a farsang[160] from Medina before the affairs of his Caliphate are settled; the murderers of Usman are dispersed; discord and animosity are eliminated from amongst the Mussalmans, and the lands of Islam become obedient and submissive, for Medina is the circumference of Divine Inspiration, the Capital of the Faith, and has the tomb of the Prophet, which is the joining link between the earth and the sky".

While giving the said advice, they reminded the Commander of the Faithful (Ali) of Umar Khattab's intention of going to Madain, and then on the advice of his friends remaining behind in Medina. They added: "All Mussalmans know fully well, that the Commander of the Faithful is the most learned, the bravest, and the nearest of kin of all men to the Prophet of God. After Abu Bakr and Umar the eyes of the Companions were fixed on you for the Caliphate,[161] and there is no difference or disagreement among jins[162] and men over your right to be the Commander of the Faithful. And if the Commander of the Faithful stays behind at the metropolis of the Faith and the realm, those who have taken to rebellion in all quarters; have made seeking the vengeance of Usman's blood from his murderers a pretext for such rebellion; those who from fear of having to answer for the blood of Usman have joined the Commander of the Faithful; who intend, that the contention and strife among the Companions should increase daily, so that their crimes may be lost sight of, and the murderers of Usman be dispersed, they will have no excuse left, but to recite the Oath of Affirmation "there is no God, but one God and Mohammad is His Prophet". There will be no alternative for them, but to offer their allegiance to you. The vast number of Mussalmans will not remain attached to the rebels, the traitors and the (violaters)[163] of their treaties. They will

F.32a

kill them and come over to you. If any of them ventures to attack Medina, the earth and the sky will come forward to fight him, and he will be stoned by wild animals and birds.[164] How can the believers in Islam eye fiercely the Commander of the Faithful, who is the Caliph of the Mussalmans, and whose august sons are the light of our Prophet's eyes? If they venture to do so, they will be dragged out of Islam like a hair out of dough".

They added much to this effect, and desired vehemently that the Commander of the Faithful Ali should not leave Medina, that the murderers of Usman should not remain in his service, that he should not consult them in his presence, and that they should be dispersed in all directions. F.32b

Asmai has related, that that good leader (Ali), who was the most learned of men and of all peoples past and present, did not take kindly the advice and counsel of his counsellors. He still set out for Iraq. The murderers of Usman were never out of his presence; they acquired control over his army, and their ambitions grew steadily through false pretexts.

On the way to Iraq within the frontiers of Basra, a battle took place with Ayesha, Talha and Zubair. A considerable number of Mussalmans were killed on both sides. From thence the Commander of the Faithful proceeded to Kufa; equipped his troops, and then marched against the

traitor Mu'awiya. For some time he was engaged with him in battle and slaughter. Many Companions obtained martyrdom. The end of his (Ali's) life passed in wars, and he was not able to return to Medina again.[165]

These two[166] (anecdotes) of the two leaders of the Faith are sufficient to prove the useful effect of taking counsel and the dangers (of acting) without it for the kings of Islam.

Nasihat No. IV.

On the Virtue of Right Resolve, and that Right Resolve is Different from Tyranny and Despotism; on the Virtue of Right Resolve, which is the Garb of Monarchy, and on that in the Technique of Religious Kings Right Resolve is Different from Tyranny and Despotism, which also look like (Right) Resolve[167]....................................1 F.32b F.33a

.........that Right Resolve is the robe of Rulership and the attire of Government. The rulers of the past, who kept the world in security and good order through their justice and beneficence, have stated that Right Resolve forms an essential condition of government. If a king shows right resolve in his administrative affairs and governmental undertakings, and does not make use of any dissension and discord in the management of his affairs, his kingly designs and imperial enterprises will be accomplished with greater swiftness and convenience. His prestige will be established more firmly in the hearts of both his friends and foes; faith in his firmness, which is the pillar of governmental affairs, will be engraved more effectively on the minds of those present and absent; his awe will not decrease in the hearts of his equals, and there will be confidence (in their minds), that if the king undertakes a task, he will not desist from it until it is accomplished. The fact that the generality of his subjects are certain about the firm

resolve of a king, brings great advantages to the affairs of government. But if a king obtains reputation for weakness of will, indecisiveness and inconstancy in the prosecution of public affairs, neither will his well-wishers be assured of the permanence of his favours and compassion, nor will his awe and terror be engraved on the hearts of his opponents and ill-wishers. The subjects of his kingdom will not be satisfied with his orders and prohibitions;[168] his words and deeds will carry no respect, authority, confidence and dignity among the mass of his subjects, and he will have no prestige left among his equals. F.33b

You are to know that in Persian, the meaning of "Azm" is to set one's mind upon a certain task, and that "Azm" (resolve) and "Qasd" (determination) are equivalent terms. If a man sets his mind upon a certain task, he is said to have resolved or determined on it. Resolve and determination may be for good or for evil, for welfare or ruin, for religious or mundane affairs, and its ultimate end may be good or bad. The resolve may concern possible or impossible (issues); to difficult or to easy affairs; it may be the source of prosperity or distraction, of good or bad repute, and may lead to advantage or may cause loss.[169] ....

....

A firm resolve is credited with good or evil and welfare or corruption. On whatever kings have resolved upon; have

persisted in, and have not desisted from it, has been called the "Resolve of Kings" i.e. when kings have resolved upon a thing, there is not, and cannot be any withdrawal from it, just as there is no alteration in divine decrees. They (kings) have interpreted their resolve in this way, and Satan has chuckled at their beards and moustaches, and has infused into their minds: "You are the gods of this earth, hence there must not be any withdrawal from your resolve. If there be any turning aside from your resolve, the people will not worship you as gods".[170] F.34a

....And every determination of kings is considered to be an <u>Azm</u>, if it aims at well-being, virtue, welfare and the attainment of good repute, or if it is the means to a nobler and a happy end in the next world, and good name, provided it comes within the bounds of possibility. Perseverence in it has been a source of virtue and pride for kings. But every resolve has been termed as despotism (کتیش) and tyranny (استبداد), which aims at mischief and evil, or which has been beyond the compass of attainment, or has led to destruction, notoriety, general hatred, distress and is the (source)[171] of disgrace, ruin and distraction.

It has been written and said: "To abandon, to desist and to retreat from these two kinds of resolves, is the essence of the religious character of kings". According to

the great men of the Faith and government, this has not been attributed to indecisiveness of mind. If any Muslim king, because of his impudence (to overlook) the <u>Sharia</u> has exhibited perseverence in his defective and loathsome resolve, and followed the footsteps of the Tyrants[172] and the Kisras, the unworldly religious scholars and wise men of Islam have called it "despotism" and "tyranny" and not "right resolve".

Religious scholars have said: "The phrase <u>Resolve of Kings</u> is a precept of tyrants and not of the Caliphs and kings of Islam. A resolve may absolutely be for good, but (if in practice) it leads to an error, to desist from an error is the essence of reason and sheer religiousness". F.34b

Now, O sons of Mahmud, it is up to you to distinguish clearly between the "Resolve of Muslim kings" and the "Resolve of Tyrants". You should not call the ingenuity and insistence of ignorant sultans the "Resolve of kings", or under the false conception of "Royal Resolve" throw yourself and the people of God into misfortunes and afflictions by striving for the impracticable and the impossible. Do not regard desisting from what is evil, mischievous and impossible to be the weakness of will, but consider it to be religious[173]....

....

(It is said)[174] that Naushaba, who was a well-known queen

of the world, asked Alexander about the meaning of the phrase "Resolve of Kings". Alexander replied: "The Resolve of Kings means a resolution, whose success leads to the personal safety of the kings, to the welfare of the army and to the prosperity of the subjects. By its realisation the affairs of faith and the kingdom (are accomplished), and the army is increased, and this leads to the prevention of calamities and the overthrow of enemies. The person and the property of the king, through the realisation of this design, have a good and prosperous ending".

Naushaba said: "I have heard that ancient kings did not desist from any task, they undertook until it had been accomplished; and that in their resolve and determination, they did not care to distinguish between the possible and the impossible, between welfare and disorder, and between right and wrong. Hence their resolutions have been known as the 'Resolves of Kings' i.e. if the kings resolve upon something, they do not desist from it, even if (the world) collapses".

175

Alexander replied, "These people were tyrants and Pharoahs, who had turned their faces from God and His prophets. F.35a They laid claims to divinity as they did not care for the promotion of religion and good order. No king, who claims to be religious will follow those whom God has damned. If a king sees that his resolve leads to virtue, welfare and prosperity, he should persist in it, even if his entire

treasure is required for the accomplishment of this undertaking, he should spend it, so that weakness of will and inconstancy of judgment may not be attributed to him. But it is simply a pious and a God-fearing act on the part of the king, if he desists from his purpose when he discovers that the (very) intention of his resolve is erroneous, mischievous, repugnant to religion, or a cause for the distraction, distress and misery of the people of God, or is impossible of attainment, or that perseverence in the undertaking prevents his attending to more important business. (Under such conditions) no wise or religious person will, or can, call him weak-willed. All wise men will attribute turning aside from defective resolutions to the perfect wisdom of the king. 'Turning towards truth is better than persistence in error', has been the sword of the sagacious, and the tradition of the wise[176]..............................

....

......................that it is obligatory on kings that before they have made up their mind about an undertaking or a task and notified it to the people, they should reflect carefully on its success and failure as well as its effect on the prosperity and welfare of their own persons, on the religion and the kingdom, and on the army and the people. F.35b They should, in confidential meetings with their counsellors, discuss the beginning and the conclusion of the undertaking,

its right and left, its ups and downs, and its execution as well as abandonment. With the eye of prudence, and not with the eye of terror and rulership, which is always blind to ultimate results, they should discern whether the undertaking aiming at good is possible and realisable, and (make sure) that the hearts of the wise do not shudder at its realisation and do not consider it impossible. With reference to such an undertaking, the kings should make public their resolve, engage themselves in its accomplishment at the soonest, and show perseverence in it. If all their treasures need to be spent over the enterprise, they ought to spend them, so that they may have applied (the principle) the 'Resolve of kings' at a righteous occasion. But if they resolve upon anything contrary to knowledge and reason, and persist in it, then this is to be called 'tyranny', 'despotism', 'obstinacy' and 'haughtiness', and not 'right resolve'[177]................

....

(The kings) in resolving upon an undertaking or managing their affairs, should look to the resolves and designs of the Prophet (peace be on him) and the Orthodox Caliphs, and on the principle of '<u>Nasikh</u>' and '<u>Mansukh</u>' in the verses of the Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet (peace be on him). It has to be considered, that (even) in the sphere of the <u>Sharia</u>, which it would be unbelief and infidelity to attribute to anyone except God, orders are cancelled. The original

orders are abrogated, then reinstituted, and (the people) are asked to obey new orders. The welfare of the religion and the kingdom is revealed through cancellation. F.36a Thus Almighty God says (in the Quran): "We do not cancel a verse or cause it to be forgotten (unless we) bring one better than it or one like it".[178] A king will not be condemned for weakness of will if he withdraws from his purpose and resolution for the sake of the public good and welfare, casts aside an error or mischief and comes again to the right path, or does not under the (false) idea of 'Royal Resolve', behave like a despot and a tyrant. (On the other hand), if he institutes friendship with his lower self in his undertakings, while the prestige and terror of kingship in turn fan his lower self; and because of the sensuousness of his heart and the ambitions of his soul, he undertakes tasks which lead to his fall and the fall of his people, will it not be that he has overthrown himself and his people with his own hand? And when because of this resolve, both the ruler and the ruled are overthrown, or made to suffer grievously, of what use will the precept "the Resolve of kings" be to him in this world or the next? And how will it help him? And although there will be the good and welfare[179] of..... and craves for, and how will it help him? But if this leads to the good and welfare of the ruler and the ruled in the next world, and knowledge and wisdom have no doubt[180]

about it, and then if his resolve slackens, and he gives up the undertaking, he will no doubt obtain a reputation for weakness of will. No-one will have confidence concerning his affairs, and he will receive considerable loss by doing so; his orders will sit lightly on the hearts of the people, and bring in his loss of prestige. F.36b

Concerning this Nasihat, the illustration of the resolve of righteous Caliphs, as well as the despotism and tyranny of those expelled from God's favour, who in the conceit of "Royal Resolve" have drowned themselves in the dark ocean of disgrace, is worthy of credence[181]........................

....

.....Imam Waqidi has related in his Tarikh, that when Abu Bakr Siddiq became Caliph after the death of the Prophet, he demanded Zakat[182] and Sadaqat from the Arab tribes who had accepted Islam during the life-time of the Prophet. Most Arab tribes had apostacised, while some Arab tribes which did not apostacise, refused to give Zakat and Sadaqat, and faced the collectors with sword. The Commander of the Faithful, Abu Bakr, ordered a war to be waged against all those Arab tribes - both those which had apostacised, and those which had refused to pay the Zakat; their properties and goods were to be considered as spoils of war (ghaminat), and until they embraced Islam and gave Zakat and Sadaqat as they did in former days, the sword of battle was not to be

kept back into the scabbard. Some Companions of the Prophet represented to Abu Bakr: "This time being near to our Prophet's death, men's minds are disturbed, and our means are scanty. If we do not fight this year against those who do not pay the Zakat, next year when we pick up strength, we will be able to realise Zakat from them by force". Abu Bakr Siddiq replied, "I am on the side of truth. I have F.37a resolved not to refrain (from war) until Truth is established at the Centre. I will not desist from fighting unless they pay Zakat and Sadaqat in the same way as they used to pay the Prophet (peace be on him). If I do not realise Zakat this year, next year they will expect to be exempted from prayers, and the year after they will seek forgiveness from fasting. And in this way the orders of the Sharia will be erased from amongst the Mussalmans. If we all perish in this campaign, we will have perished in the path of righteousness. I am not going to give up this campaign or retreat from it. Of necessity, all the Companions agreed with the resolve of the Khalifa of the Prophet, the Lord of the Worlds. They fought severe battles with the Arab tribes, and captured spoils until within the next three or four months, the apostates returned to Islam; while those who had withheld the Zakat submitted, and sent their Zakat to the "Public Treasury" (Baitul Mal) of the Mussalmans. The tumult subsided and Truth was established at the centre. Hence in the

religion of Islam 'the Resolve of Kings' is applied to such a resolve, the benefits of which, worldly and religious, accrue both to the king and the people, and the ultimate end of which is nothing but good and virtue.[183] ....

It is said in the Tarikh-i-Khulafa-i-'Abbasi,[184] that the Commander of the Faithful, Mu'tasim, son of Harun-ur-Rashid, heard that the Christians in Rum (Byzantium) had broken the treaty, they had made with Harun-ur-Rashid, and had torn to pieces the letter of agreement. They had plundered F.37b and ravaged the Mussalmans who, in accordance with the orders of the Caliph, had settled on the frontiers of Rum, and some they slew, and others they captured and took to Rum. Mu'tasim, the Commander of the Faithful, resolved to march on the city of Umruyia. This Umruyia was the finest and the greatest of the cities of Rum. The Caliph, after full preparations, started in that direction to seek vengeance for the Mussalmans. But after he had marched a few stages in the direction of Rum, an epidemic (tabaq) broke out among the horses and camels of the army, such that most of the quadrupeds of the army died. Some feeble-hearted and weak-willed persons said to Mu'tasim: "It appears that the Romans have worked magic such that most of the horses and camels of the army of Islam have died. How will it be if the Commander of the Faithful returns this year, and after making greater preparations next year, seeks

vengeance for the Mussalmans from the Romans?" Mu'tasim replied to these weak-willed persons: "What you say has no foundation. As we are on the side of the Truth, and have adhered to our covenant, while they are on the side of falsehood, and have rescinded their treaty by unjustly wielding their swords against the Mussalmans, whom they have captured, kept in chains and imprisoned in wells, so F.38a victory and success will be ours. I have resolved upon this enterprise, and I am on the side of Truth. If I desist, I will earn a reputation for weakness of will among the Sultans[185] of the day. From the Resolve of Muslim kings, if it be righteous, there is no retracting or wavering, and no-one will have faith in the firmness of my resolve after this".

The Commander of the Faithful ordered gold to be sent from his treasury in all directions. A very large number of (animals)[186] and horses were purchased[187]; and in accordance with the lists of the muster-masters, these animals were given as gifts to the soldiers, who were sent in the direction of Rum. When they reached Umruyia, they found that they (Christians) had collected there in large numbers. Severe battles took place between the army of Islam and the Christians of Rum. After some days, through the blessings and assistance of God, Umruyia was captured. Most of the Christians were put to sword. All their women and children along with goods and property beyond reckoning, became spoils

of the army of Islam. The surviving Mussalmans were brought out of prison and granted many gifts. Through the blessings of firm resolve, Mu'tasim obtained a victory which will be narrated until the Day of Judgment. Thus persistence in determination and resolve, in which the Truth is on the side of the person undertaking the enterprise, and which leads to the benefit of the religion and the kingdom, is known as 'the Resolve of kings' in the technique of religious people[188]...

And Mahmud (acted) in accordance with an oath he had F.38b taken before attaining to years of discretion, that if he became king, he would overthrow Manat[189]. When he attained to kingship, he prepared his armies and started for Manat; who was the god (ma'bud) of all the idolators of Hind and Sind, with the intention of overthrowing Manat, and proving the falseness of the worshippers of this idol to the world. With this firm intention he started for Manat, which is now-a-days called Somnath. From Ghaznin he proceeded by way of Multan, and from there with his large armies he reached Nahrwala (Anhilwara). He plundered and ravaged the city of Nahrwala and the territory of Gujrat, and the army got enormous spoils. From there he started for Somnath.

When Mahmud reached within forty **Karohs** of Somnath, it was the period of the forty days of severe winter (چلۀ زمستان), and because of putridity of the sea, there arose a great

hailstorm. It became very dark in Maḥmud's camp; the whole world became so dark, that it was impossible to distinguish one hand from another, and the bright day became like a dark night. The army of Islam had to face great hardships.[190] The village headmen and <u>zamindars</u> of the territory of Sind, who had come with their followers to support the army of Islam, began to publish in the army of Mahmud: "Manat is a great god (دیوی); he is worshipped by thousands and thousands of Hindus and idol-worshippers of these territories. This darkness has been cast by the idol on the army, so F.39a that it may be warned and return from this place. If in spite of this symbol Mahmud and his army do not wake up, Manat will not leave even one of them alive by next week".[191]

This rumour began to circulate in the Muslim army, and those who were feeble and weak in faith, began to shudder. This news was continuously reported to Mahmud. Mahmud summoned the village headmen and asked them about the rumour. They spoke before Mahmud unanimously: "This rumour has spread through us in the army. We are obedient and loyal to the king of Islam. Out of loyalty and faithfulness to the king, we humbly submit that he should return as soon as possible, and keep his hands aloof from the design against Manat, otherwise next week Manat will not spare a single man alive in the army. We only inform the king of what we know and see and hear (from the inhabitants).[192] It is for the king

to give the order".

Mahmud did not give them any answer. But he offered two rakats of prayer in solitude, and placed his forehead on the ground in humility and helplessness before God, the Absolute. "O knower of all secrets and hidden things", was his supplication and prayer to the Almighty, "Thou knowest in thy fore-knowledge, that Mahmud is on the side of truth, and that with a good intention he has resolved to overthrow this false god, and that he has been firm about this campaign. If the lives of Mahmud and all his army are required for this resolve, Mahmud has prepared himself and his army for the sacrifice necessary. But if in this matter I am supplicating truthfully before Thee, O God, grant Thy creatures riddance from this darkness and give proofs of Islam to Gabrs[193], mushriks, idolators and those weak in faith". Before Mahmud was able to finish his prayer, the hailstorm slowed down. After an hour or two the sky cleared, the sun rose, the world was illuminated, and dust was thrown into the mouths of the mushriks, idolators and those weak in faith. Next day, Mahmud started for Somnath, and reached there after four or (five days)[194]. And there he did to the idol and to the idol-worshippers what will be remembered until the Day of Judgment. Hence this sort of resolve is known as 'the Resolve of kings' among Muslim rulers[195]..................................

....

F.39b

.....that our Prophet (peace be on him) wrote a letter to Khusrau Perwez, in accordance with the directions of Divine Inspiration and invited him to accept Islam. He gave the letter to one of his Companions, and sent him to Madain F.40a to deliver it to Khusrau Perwez. The Companion proceeded to Madain with the Prophet's (peace be on him) letter. Before this, Khusrau Perwez had heard of the Prophet's (peace be on him) mission, of his preaching (the Faith), and of the collection of people round him; and he writhed (in anger) at this news like a snake. When the Companion gave the letter to Khusrau's wazir, who was known as Buzurg[196] Ummed, the wazir looked at the letter, and saw this written - "From Mohammad, the Prophet of Allah, to Khusrau Perwez". The wazir handed back the letter to the Companion. "This king of mine", he said, "lays claim to divinity. If he sees the name of your Prophet before his own name, he will be enraged. It is impossible to foretell what orders will come forth from his tongue in his state of fury. Maybe, in his heat of fury, he will cause injury to your Prophet. You should return and take this letter back. Tell your Prophet that this man behaves tyrannically, that he has heard of your mission and swallowed it like poison. Do not write to him or give him a memory about yourself".

The Companion said to the wazir: "My Prophet does nothing whether great or small, on his own initiative. Whatever he

does, is in accordance with the orders of Almighty God. You should deliver this letter to the tyrant. Do not entertain any hesitation on this account". F.40b

The wazir took the letter and placed it in the hand of Khusrau Perwez. Although Khusrau Perwez, though by birth a Persian, also knew Arabic. As soon as he glanced at the letter, and saw the name of the Prophet of the Lord of the Worlds above his own name, the flame of his anger burst forth, his eyes became red, his cheeks started burning, and his hair stood erect on his body. He tore the letter to pieces.

The severer of necks has torn the letter,
Not the letter indeed, but his own name. 197

Immediately afterwards he directed an order to be written to the governor of Yamen, named Bazan. The contents were to be: "A person has appeared in Medina, who calls himself a prophet: people have collected round him and his work has been so successful, that he has written a letter to me in which he has placed his own name before mine, and summoned me to his Faith. You are not aware of this; and if you are, you have not informed me. For this crime, be prepared for my punishment. But pending the issue of my order of punishment for you, send some stern men to Medina; they are to arrest this Arab, and put him in bonds and chains, and bring him thus bound before me, so that I may mete out to him a punishment that may be a warning to the people of the world".

The secretary of Khusrau Perwez wrote out the order F.41a according to his instructions, and wanted to send it by a fast messenger to Yamen. The wazir said to the secretary: "Retain this order for a day, so that I may represent to the king what I have in mind about the matter".

The wazir himself went to Khusrau Perwez and said: "It would be an act of pure wisdom to retain for a few days the order, which has been issued for that Arab. For I hear strange accounts concerning him, while the king has ordered for his arrest. He communicates news, which comes to him from Heaven, and brings orders from God. He breaks the moon into two by (a motion of) his fingers. He does not seek this world, and forbids it to others. He says: 'Worship God day and night and remember Him as One. Keep fasts, give zakat and go on pilgrimage to the House of Ka'ba. Be righteous and walk righteously". Every order he brings, contains God's words. He has no treasures, property and troops, and he does not seek them. He is proud of his poverty and want.[198] The king knows well that it is not proper to send such an order about a man like him. No person has the courage to disobey the king in the world concerning worldly affairs. But the affairs of this man are F.41b Heavenly; and the earth cannot prevail upon Heaven. If the king does not accept the invitation (to his creed), he is sovereign (in the matter). But it appears to be far from

wisdom to injure and molest him. I am afraid that an evil curse may come from the lips of this Arab, which may destroy the whole of Ajam. I see wisdom in this - leave him to himself, and do not make investigations (about him). If, in spite of my knowledge, I do not represent to the king what I consider to be advisable for the affairs of his kingdom, I will be accused of disloyalty and all Persians will curse me and my sons".

When Khusrau heard these words from his loyal wazir, he shouted aloud in insolence: "You know well that if my ancestors, the ancient kings, resolved upon a matter and undertook a task, there was to be no question of giving it up or desisting from it on any account. I have made up my mind against this Arab and issued an order for him. If I desist from this resolve, it will be attributed to my weakness of will, and my resolve and determination will have no prestige left in so many countries. Until I do become free from him and his followers, I will not apply myself to any other business. You go and mind your own affairs".

It has been related, that for a whole week continuously the wazir constantly went to the king and (placed) the said advice before him again and again in soft and captivating words. But Khusrau always replied: "If the earth and heaven join together, they cannot prevent me from the resolve I have set my mind upon". F.42a

In short, this tyrant persisted in his resolve, and made no distinction between (right) 'resolve' and 'despotism' or 'tyranny'. Before this, Bazan, the governor of Yamen, had declared faith in the Prophet. Khusrau heard of this, put him to death, and sent another governor to Yamen. The new governor sent his men to summon the Prophet (peace be on him), but when the men reached Medina, they embraced the Faith immediately on meeting the Prophet. When the Prophet (peace be on him) heard that Khusrau had torn his letter to pieces, he raised his hands in supplication and said:[200] "O Allah, tear his kingdom as he has torn my letter". Within a few days, Shiruya, son of Khusrau Perwez, killed his father and seized the throne. He sent an order to the governor of Yamen, that no-one was thereafter to go to Medina or to that Arab. After seven or eight years, the whole territory of Persia came into the hands of the Mussalmans, and the throne of Kisras was totally destroyed, and the whole of Persia was illuminated with the light of Islam. As a result of this miracle of the Prophet, the name of Khusrau was not uttered by anyone, and the whole dynasty was totally extirpated.[201]

Every resolve, the ultimate object of which is not good, is called 'tyranny' and 'despotism' and not 'the Resolve of kings'. An example of 'despotism' and 'tyranny' of a king, who called himself a Mussalman, but under a false conception of persistence in his resolve, made use of tyranny[202]

F.42b

..............and despotism in his affairs, and became fuel for Hell-fire, is the resolve of Yazid, son of Mu'awiya.

Imam Mohammad Ishaq, who was an Arab historian, has related, that when the accursed Yazid had established himself on the throne of Damascus after (his father), and had [203] obtained allegiance to his rule from the people by the power of his sword, owing to the meanness that was ingrained in his nature, he sent a messenger to Medina and wrote an order to its governor. "Obtain the letter of allegiance from the people of Medina; if any of them does not offer his allegiance to my Caliphate, remove his head from his body at once. The order for Husain, son of Ali, Abdullah, son of Umar, and Abdullah, son of Abbas, is the same as for the general public. If they hesitate in offering allegiance to me and do not offer it, they too are to be put to death. Under no conditions any respect or protection is to be extended to them".

The wretch (Yazid) sent a swift messenger to Medina with this disgraceful order. He wrote an order to Merwan to assist the governor of Medina in the matter. His courtiers and the counsellors of his state, learnt about the contents of the order of this wretch. Some people who had closer access to this wretch, approached him and represented: "It is not advisable to send an order to Medina to this effect. Husain, son of Ali, Abdullah, son of Umar, and Abdullah, son of F.43a

Abbas, had a dispute with your father, Mu'awiya, about the offering of allegiance. How will they offer their allegiance to you? And if they are put to death, the world will resent it, and disturbances will crop up in every direction; (in particular) if Husain, son of Ali, is put to death,[204] the community of Mustafa will not leave a single person alive on this earth from your stock or from your tribe, the House of Umayyads".

Yazid, the accursed, replied: "I have made up my mind and issued my order. If I desist from this resolve and order, my commands will carry no prestige among kings. They will attribute my actions to weakness of will. 'The Resolve of kings' is well-known for the fact that there is no withdrawal or retraction from what kings have resolved on once".

Although his well-wishers tried in this matter, that such an order ought not to be sent, that the fast-messenger ought to be called back, and that it ought to be written (in the order), that if Husain, son of Ali, Abdullah, son of Umar, and Abdullah, son of Abbas, do not offer their allegiance, they should be exiled with their families and followers to a distant land, yet Yazid behaved like an ass, and did not distinguish between 'tyranny', 'despotism' and 'resolve'. As a result of this resolve, which was based on tyranny and arrogance, his face was blackened in this world and the next, and much harm was caused to Islam due to the tyranny of this

wretch and his men.[205]

Now, O sons of Mahmud, it is your duty that while F.43b issuing your orders and thinking to undertake your affairs, to use your serene judgment, and to distinguish sharply between the (two) technical meanings of resolve - its meaning according to tyrants and according to the Caliphs and kings of the Faith.

You should consider every resolve and persistence in it, which involves not fearing God and injury to the Faith and the government, and the ultimate end of which is not good, to be 'tyranny' and 'despotism'. You should regard desisting from it to be conducive to the welfare of your Faith and your kingdom.

May the Almighty grant right resolve to the Kings of Islam, and protect them from tyranny and despotism! Amen.

206
Nasihat No. V.

On the King's Justice and Equity. F.43b

Sultan Mahmud advises: O Sons of Mahmud, know that from the time of Adam to our own days, the nobles as well as the commons of all communities, both high and low, past and present, agree that justice is a necessary condition of religion, and that religion is a necessary condition of justice. It is not possible for the sons of Adam to live without having dealings with each other. And in their mutual dealings, a man may be (strong)[207] or weak, good or bad, Muslim or non-Muslim, wise or foolish, learned or illiterate, citizen or villager, resident or traveller, imposterous or righteous ruler or subject, and major or minor. F.44a

And justice is the balance by which the just and unjust dealings of people are measured. The distinction between the deserving and undeserving is created by justice, and tyranny, oppression, pillage and plunder are manifested through it. Consequently, without justice no stability is left in the affairs of men. No religion which is founded on laws, can do without justice. The trustworthy scholars of to-day ahd yesterday have said: "Justice and religion are twins".[208] They are two children born of the same mother. For justice breaks the strong arm of the tyrannical, the powerful, the mighty, the usurper, the plunderer, the rebellious, the refractory, the followers of (Incest)[209] and

disbelievers in the Day of Resurrection and Judgment against the wealth, property, women and children of the weak, the obedient, the helpless, the orphans, the submissive and the friendless. Through the decrees of religion, justice prevents tyranny and oppression. Had there been no justice on earth, there would have been pure Ibahat and no distinction between one man's property and another's; no time or age would have been free from disorder, and no son of Adam would have been able to drink his glass of water peacefully in his corner, or to stretch his legs on his bed and sleep in peace for a single night, and the world would have ceased to be prosperous due to excessive (tumult and disorder).[210]

Hence there must be a (ruler)[211] who is able to establish justice among the people. If all the wise men of the earth tried to govern and administer a single household or a village through (more) knowledge and traditions of wisdom without the (innate sense of) justice of the just, who are endowed with power, they would not be able to do so. For justice (and)[212] equity are the keystone of all consolidation and order, which are established through the firm commands of the ruler among the people. The reason for the possession of authority by the kings, and their power and dignity, is the manifestation of justice and equity, (so that)[213] they may with the power and majesty of kingship, and through the enforcement of justice, restrain and keep in restraint, the

F.44b

hands of the oppressors, the tyrants, the powerful, the rebellious, the Godless, and highway robbers and thieves from the wealth and property of the weak, the obedient and the helpless. They are to remove every injustice and violence from the dealings of God's creatures, so that the seventy-two creeds may attain to contentment of heart, and everyone may devote himself to his art, profession and means of livelihood, and the world may become inhabited and prosperous. If there is no justice, no-one will be able to lend or borrow from one another, and no-one will be able to obtain any profit from any work. If the affairs of the sons of Adam are not firmly established at the Centre, there will be no stability in the religious affairs or in the commandments of Islam, (and) recompense or chastisement will not bear fruit.

Furthermore, the creation of mankind is for the worship (of God).

As Almighty God has said (in the Quran): "We have not created men or jins except that they may worship Us". The conditions of the virtues of devotion are complete humility, supplication, self-abnegation, submission, abjectness and helplessness. But the qualities which are the necessary requirements of kingship - such as pride, aloofness from fellowmen, singularity of status, sublimity, dignity and respect - are all in contradiction to the qualities of devotion. The qualities

mentioned above are all among the special attributes of God. And as to those who, in spite of their refusal and denial (of it), claim partnership in the Divine attributes, their right place is "darkness within darkness (ظلمات في ظلمات)".[214] But if some worldly scholars consider it permissible for the kings of Islam to have these qualities, the reason for it is that the king can come to the rescue of the helpless and enforce justice for the oppressed. Through his dignity and power, the enforcement of justice attains to excellence; no rebel or traitor can oppress the weak or the helpless, and the enemies of the Faith and the opponents of the Sharia are subdued, disgraced and overthrown. Because of the very great honour and the dignity of the king, his orders are enforced over the seventy-two creeds; the enforcement of his orders leads to the glory of justice, and owing to the glory of justice, the rites of Islam are exalted. The world is organised, put into order, and kept in order, because of the enforcement of the commands of religion.

F.45a

As all virtues, devotions and acts of beneficence and kindness through the effects of justice[215].................... are made possible owing to the effects of justice, the Prophet (peace be on him) has said: "The justice of one moment is better than the devotion of seventy years"[216]; that is, the justice of one good moment of the king, which leads to the prosperity of the world, is better and more fruitful than

seventy years of devotion. This stress on the rewards F.45b of justice has not been expressed for any religious or [217] (for) any other action. For because of the justice of the king, the world achieves prosperity, and through the organisation of the affairs of the world, the actions of men bear fruit. And because the enforcement of justice and equity is an obligatory action on the part of the ruler, and through its effects the affairs of the people become prosperous and the dealings of men with each other are put on the lines of righteousness and equity, so the same quantity of rewards for their good actions as is put to the credit of the people is also, to an equal extent, put to the credit of the equitable king, whose justice has made their good actions possible. Such an action is not destroyed by any perdition and destruction.

And the divine Plato has said: "Kings do not realise the value of <u>kingship</u>, which is a great bounty. They use this bounty and authority for the satisfaction of their sensual self, and for the attainment of the pleasures and enjoyments of this life, in which they are on the same footing as wild animals and beasts. When the power of <u>kingship</u> is sullied by quest for the satisfaction of sensual desires; the kings are overcome by their passions, and they do not distinguish between the blessings and the [218] (wrath) of God. And because of their overpowering passions and enormous power,

they just do what they wish. Nevertheless, the prosperity of the world, and the instability of the affairs of mankind have been tied to their justice, and all good deeds and virtues as well as the dealings of men with each other are possible only due to the effects of their justice. All these good deeds of the people are credited to the actions of the kings. They earn so much reward through their justice, that it cannot be contained within (the circumference) of the earth and the sky. And how can we imagine a group of men, of any kind or type, to whose actions so many rewards and merits are assigned, as are done to kings for their just actions? Perfect justice is a necessary condition of monarchy and the supreme command. If the quality of justice is innate in kings and predominent in their actions, no virtue, after prophethood, is higher and purer than kingship. And just as the reward and merit of no creature can equal the reward and merit of prophethood in the same way, neither can any creature equal the reward and the merit of a just king.

F.46a

The great men of religion and government from amongst the people of to-day and yesterday have said: "Man has not in any aspect of human affairs, been ordered to go to extreme or excess". A long time has elapsed when this precept was propounded:[219] "In all actions, moderation is the best course". The necessity of moderation in all actions is approved by the Sharia and reason. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the king

to strive to the utmost in the enforcement of justice. If justice is not an innate virtue in the king, if all his other virtues are not dominated by the desire for justice and equity, and if he does not strive to develop the expression of the above qualities to the utmost, then the effect of his justice will not become visible among his sons and F.46b relations, his courtiers, slaves, supporters, followers, friends, qazis and ~~revenue~~ tax-collectors, who are his partners and co-workers in his supreme rulership; they will not give effect to his justice and will not themselves be equitable and just; and until all the governors, qazis, revenue-collectors and officers of the kingdom are just and equitable, justice will not be visible in the affairs of the people of the realm. Unless all of them seek the path of justice, justice will not be enforced, the foundations of tyranny will not be uprooted and the king will neither be just, nor will he be called just. The king is only just when no injustice remains in his country, and all the oppressors are finished once for all. If in the kingdom of the king one person is a tyrant, and his tyranny continues permanently in spite of the king's knowledge, then the king is not just and equitable[220].........the propogation of a king's justice and the justice of his governors, qazis, officers and revenue collectors is, that calamities and misfortunes seldom befall his realm and the blessings of heavenly bounty constantly descend on it. Therefore, the quality of justice must be

innate in a king, so that by the very impulse of his nature he (dispenses) justice to the utmost, and because of these virtues of his, injustice and tyranny may decrease among the nobles and the commons of his kingdom; tolerance and innovations which are to be absolutely scorned, should die away on earth, and the hearts of the inhabitants become satisfied and remain satisfied with his justice and equity. F.47a

Alexander asked Aristotle: "Justice and oppression are two contrary epithets, which are not combined in one order in one sitting. How is it then, that in some kings and rulers the two qualities are found co-mingled?" Aristotle replied: "If the quality of justice is innate in the king, who is the (supreme) ruler and commander, then under no conditions and in no circumstances will he be guilty of injustice.[221] Injustice is excused to him in the matter of F.49b expenditure. The expenditure the king incurs from the treasury on himself and the followers and supporters of his government is necessary for him. For if he does not equip himself and his helpers and supporters with power and prestige, it will be impossible for him to rule. Hence, while incurring this expenditure, he ought to keep in mind its need. He ought to help his good supporters and helpers, but he must also keep in mind the answer he will have to submit on the Day of Judgment. If the king does not keep these three things in view, and follows the promptings of vanity in spending over

himself and his helpers and supporters, and makes the satisfaction of his own desires his end in view, his position will be one of danger. He should know for certain, that the money will be (appropriated)[222] by others, and that others will obtain enjoyment and pleasure out of it and make merry, while the king will be unable to answer for it on the Day of Judgment. But as to the king's gifts to respectable Saiyyids, religious scholars, mystics, the virtuous, the beneficent, men of wisdom and skill, persons of ability, the travellers, (the helpless)[223], the needy and to schools and khanqahs (monasteries of mystics), and on all occasions where charity is recommended[224] - the more they be, the greater will be the king's success in this world and his salvation in the next. This is not in fact, lavish expenditure or (extravagance)[225]. The (precept) that 'there can be no lavish expenditure in good works' is founded (on this principle)[226]

F.50a

....

The generosity of Umar and the liberality of Mamun are sufficient illustrations of highmindedness, while the case of Abdullah, son of Mamun, is worthy of credence concerning low resolves.

(Anecdote)[227] illustrating the above Nasihat.

The historians have related that, when during the Caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful, Umar Khattab, all the territories of Ajam were subdued and Syria, Egypt and

Jerusalem were conquered; in brief all the countries of the inhabited world become illuminated with the light of Islam, then the mode of life of the Caliph - his poverty, privation, piety and patched cloak became known in all those countries. Jewish scholars, the officers in charge of (Christian[228] churches) and the priests of the fire-worshippers (Tarsa) along with the officers, landed magnates, landlords and the trusted and leading people of Damascus, Syria and Jerusalem, came to Abu Obaidah Jarrah, who was the governor of (those territories)[229]. "Kingship and high resolve", they said, "are twins. The essence of kingship is high resolve. In our books it is written that a king without (high) resolves is not worthy of kingship, and that it is not permitted to the subjects to obey a king of low ambitions or to give him the Kharaj and the jizya. Unless the king is distinguished from the people in all matters appertaining to his mode of life, honour and respect for him will not be established in the world, and the people will hesitate to render obedience to him. The king ought to have such terror, dignity, honour, might, grandeur and power, that if he passes through a steppe or a desert, the animals and wild beasts put their forehead in submission on the ground before him. We have inquired into the mode of life, the poverty and privation and the patched cloak of the Commander of the Faithful, Umar, who is the king of Islam. ~~who is the king of~~

F.50b

~~Islam~~. We hear that he has no grandeur and magnificence such as the kings of Arabia, Ajam, Rum and Egypt possessed. In the city in which he lives, no beggar is poorer than he is. We and our children are ashamed of obeying and paying the jizya to a man of such low ambition, who has no bread for dinner in his house, who wears torn clothes, and who wanders about on foot, whip (durrah) in hand, in the city quarters and lanes".

Abu Obaidah smiled at their words, "The condition in which the Commander of the Faithful keeps himself and the way in which he lives", he replied, "is the effect of his high ambitions, and that his high aspirations do not pay any heed to the world and all it has, nor to the next world and all its enjoyments. He seeks God, and therefore, he has made himself like this. If you do not trust these words of mine, select some reliable men from among yourself, and send them to Medina. You will then see the high resolve and the awe of the Commander of the Faithful. After you have seen him, I will answer whatever questions you ask". F.51a

In accordance with Abu Obaidah's suggestion, they selected twenty religious scholars and men of distinction, who prepared for the journey, and then went to Abu Obaidah Jarrah. Abu Obaidah sent them to Madinah with one-fifth of the spoils (obtained from) Rum. This fifth of the spoils amounted to seven thousand camel-loads, consisting of things of gold and

silver. They were gold and silver, precious things, dresses of silk - pure silk, and weapons of gold. And there were two royal utensils of gold and silver, which had fallen into Abu Obaidah's hands as spoils from the kingdom of Rum. He sent the spoils along with these twenty scholars and distinguished men to the Commander of the Faithful at Medina.

When the twenty Jewish and Zoroastrian scholars F.51b reached Medina with the fifth of the spoils, and the news was conveyed to Umar, he ordered the spoils to be taken to the plain of Medina and not to be brought into the city. Next day he ordered all the loads of gold, silver and valuables to be undone and scattered on the floor, and things of the same kind to be put into piles. Weighers with their balances were to sit by the side of the piles of gold and silver; and cloth merchants and artisans were put on the heaps of cloth and valuables to sort out the things of the same kind. The Commander of the Faithful came to the plain along with the Companions, and those who had embraced Islam after the death of the Prophet. He issued an order for preparing a list outlining the status and ranks of the Companions of the Prophet. The weighers, after having weighed the gold and silver, and the clothiers after sorting out the different kinds of cloth, gave each of the Companions and the Tabi'in[230] his respective share. The Commander of the Faithful took his seat on the floor in a corner, and strove to distribute

the spoils as quickly as possible. Everyone made packets of his share and portion, and carried it on the heads of porters to his house. For three days continuously this booty was distributed among the people. Out of it, not a single dinar or dirham was taken either to the Public Treasury or to the house of the Commander of the Faithful. On the third day, when the heart of Umar was freed (from the responsibility) of distributing the spoils, he offered two genuflections of prayer in thanksgiving to Allah and returned to his house empty-handed. F.52a

The twenty Jewish and Zoroastrian scholars, who had come with the spoils from Syria, observed this occurence for three days. They were over-awed by the sight of the Commander of the Faithful, and surprised and struck with wonder at his munificence and generosity. When the Commander of the Faithful was sitting in the mosque of the Prophet (peace be on him) after his afternoon prayers, these twenty persons came to him; had the honour of kissing his hands, and prostrated themselves in respect on the floor. Then they opened their lips to thank and praise the Commander of the Faithful. "We have knowledge of all the heavenly books", they said: "We swear that from the time of Adam until to-day, no king has been so munificent and so generous in bestowing gifts and awards without laying[231] (the donee) under any obligation, as you are (and) neither will there be one until

the Day of Judgment. If the kings of Rum and Ajam, whom the people call Qaisars and Kisras, gave to any group of people even a thousandth part of what you have given in these three days, they turned their blood into water by making them prostrate themselves (on the ground), and reminding them continuously of their gifts. In the world and F.52b among the people, generosity and munificence without obligation are (only) the generosity and munificence of the Commander of the Faithful. Munificence and generosity on such a scale has not been possible for a (friend)[232] or anyone else, and we know that it will not be possible for anyone in future. Now pronounce the Faith to us; and when we become Mussalmans, thousands and thousands of Jews and Zoroastrians will also become Mussalmans without the use of sword".

The Commander of the Faithful was pleased at their acceptance of Islam. He recited the Oath of Affirmation to them, and they all repeated it. They were shown respect and honour, and were given their rations and expenses. They said their prayers behind the Commander of the Faithful for a few days, and witnessed the ways and traditions of his Caliphate, his mode of living and livelihood, and his way of dealing with the people and dispensing justice. They attained to real faith and returned (home) thanking and praising (God). The Commander of the Faithful wrote a letter to Abu Obaidah with his own august hand, about their being treated well, and

handed it over to them. It is related, that this letter of the Commander of the Faithful still remains with the descendants of these twenty men. They hold it as dear as their own lives. Every king and governor who sees it, shows compassion to them and does not deviate from the order of the Commander of the Faithful.[233] F.53a

As to the highmindedness of the Commander of the Faithful, Mamun, it is said in the Tarikh-i-Abbasi, that Mamun was seated on the throne of the Caliphate on I'd. The nobles, dignitaries, leaders and officers of Baghdad went before the throne of the Caliphate, performed the duty of offering I'd greetings to (the Caliph), and returned. On this occasion, when joy and gaiety were universal, some leading Abbasids made a request to Mamun for I'd gifts. Mamun wrote a signet-order with his own hand to the effect that these (Abbasid) nobles were to be given I'd gifts, and following them, I'd gifts were to be conferred upon all the inhabitants of Baghdad, and on the next day, they were to be distributed among the wazirs and the leading men.

The accountants and clerks gathered together, divided the inhabitants into groups and noted down their status and rank. Since all the people of Baghdad were computed, they amounted to some crores.[234] The leaders and chiefs of each group were summoned together; the sum that was due to them was recorded in the rolls, and placed before the throne of the Caliphate.

"This comes to a considerable sum of money", the wazirs said, "and goes beyond many treasures. What is the order now?" Mamun chuckled. He ordered all the treasures of the preceding Caliphs, which had remained intact for many years and to which no hand had reached, to be opened. The F.53b valuables were to be poured out, and then collected into piles in two courtyards of the Capital of the Caliphate.[235] At twenty places, in which the whole public could be accommodated, the wazirs, the courtiers, revenue officers, accountants and clerks were to sit and distribute the I'd gifts. In accordance with the Caliph's orders, I'd gifts were distributed among the nobles and the commons of Baghdad. All the past and present treasures were exhausted in this. (In addition) many lacs were borrowed from the rich men, merchants and Muslim moneylenders (of Baghdad), and (the people) were given diplomas for that year's income from the lands and provinces of the Empire. Only then could the I'd gifts of the inhabitants of Baghdad be paid. For some time after that, the expenses of the royal harem and the departments (karkhanas) were met by loans. On seeing this, the wise men and the historians said unanimously: "This generosity, which the Commander of the Faithful has shown in Baghdad, has not been possible for any of the Kisras or Qaisars in the capitals of Ajam or Rum". The more the reports of the treasuries being emptied were repeatedly conveyed to Mamun, the more he was pleased, and thanked and praised God

immensely. He often recited the proverb: "The Caliphate and highmindedness are twins".

An example of the evil of low resolves in the affairs of the Caliphate and kingship is this. The Commander of the Faithful, Mamun, had drawn the Deed of Succession (to his Caliphate) in favour of his eldest son, Abdullah, and had it attested by the (evidence)[236] of the grandees and well-known men of Baghdad. After a few days, when Mamun was engaged in reading a book on Hadis in his private chamber and discussing it with Qazi Yahya Aksam, Amir Abdullah, who had become successor to the Caliph, summoned his slave, gave him a dinar, and said "Buy herbs out of it for one dang, and grapes for two dangs, and bring back to me one dang which will be left". Mamun heard everything word by word, that Abdullah had uttered to his slave. He dismissed Qazi Yahya, for a grievous sorrow had overtaken him. From that moment until the time of retiring to bed, he neither spoke a single word, nor did he meet anybody, nor applied himself to any business. F.54a

When the night passed and the day dawned, Mamun ordered all the grandees and leading men of Baghdad to be summoned[237] before the throne of the Caliphate and a meeting to be arranged. In this meeting of the notables, he withdrew the Deed of Succession to the Caliphate from his son, and tore it to pieces in their presence. He deposed his son F.54b

from the succession, wrote a fresh Deed of Succession to the Caliphate in favour of his brother, Mu'tasim, and asked the notables he had summoned to attest the Deed as witnesses. The great men of Baghdad asked Mamun: "What was the crime which accounted for the deposition of your son?" Mamun replied: "The wise men of the whole world are agreed, that government and kingship are not possible, and nor have they been possible in any community without high resolves. Yesterday I heard with my own ears from this son of mine, some words which I cannot repeat before you. I am ashamed and feel frightened lest its disgrace may cling to my posterity. All (these words) prove the niggardly nature and the low mind of my son. I cannot assign the Caliphate, which is the deputyship of God and the vicegerency of the Prophet, to such a petty-minded person. If I do so, I will not be able to answer for it on the Day of Judgment.[238]

238a
(Nasihat) No. VI.

On the Preservation of the Ranks and the Grades.[239] of the Supporters and the Officers of the Realm. F.54b - nay of all the Notables of the Kingdom.

Sultan Mahmud has given you a testamentory advice, O sons of Mahmud and O kings of the earth, you are to know and know for certain, that the basis of the work of governing and ruling over the inhabitants of a country is divided into two kinds. First, the fulfilment (of the king's) obligations[240] F.55a towards the generality of his subjects, which is (done) through compassion, kindness, justice, generosity, protection and good treatment; (secondly)[241] the fulfilment of the duties of the ruler with reference to the claims of the notables (of his kingdom)".

The claims of the notables among the subjects are of various kinds - these varieties are (claims due to) siyadat (relationship to Prophet Mohammad through his daughter Fatima), learning, wisdom, piety, noble descent, free birth,[242] and merits of character, such as fortitude, commercial and technical skill and amiable manners. It is necessary and obligatory on the ruler from the viewpoint of government and administration to do due justice from his court to the accomplishments of the accomplished persons. Just as he fulfils his obligations towards the helpers and supporters of his court, in the same way he should fulfil his obligation

towards the merits of his notables. And similarly, just as he takes into consideration the loyalty of his helpers and supporters and their capacity to be loyal, and for the giving of gifts and awards he creates ranks and grades, he should also create ranks and grades for the notables of his kingdom. He should confer due recognition upon everyone from his court in proportion to his claims. For the Prophet (peace be on him) says: "Give to every claimant his due". Only he is called and considered a king of perfect wisdom who, in all his dealings with the nobles and the commons - those which he has with his sons and brothers, his courtiers and confidants and the servants of his court, and the notables of his kingdom, does not proceed without prescribing the ranks and grades. (Then) there does not arise any camel (and) cat[243] incongruity in his dealings and in the dignity and grandeur of his court, and his affairs do not fall a prey[244] to confusion; the deserving does not go disappointed and (discontented)[245]. Love and attachment for him will develop in the hearts of the subjects, and will remain there (for ever) and because of this, the management of the affairs of his kingdom and government (will) also go on smoothly.

F.55b

Ardeshir Babakan[246], whose words and deeds were followed by the Kisras of Ajam in the affairs of government, has said: "He alone can be called and considered an upright king, who in his dealings with the people of his kingdom has such regard

for their rank and status, that all his subjects become his helpers and supporters, and love for him is so established in the hearts of the nobles and the commons, that everyone considers himself to be the slave, the servant and the loyal well-wisher of the king - such that if a misfortune or accident befalls the king, all (his subjects) consider themselves his partners and co-sufferers in that suffering, and openly and secretly they try to overcome it; and until the heart of the king is not at ease about that calamity, his subjects also do not find any peace or rest. This F.56a the king never achieves until he has created general ranks and grades for the notables; and from the dignity and wealth, the exalted God has granted to him, he gives a position and a gift to everyone in accordance with his rights and birth, for God has made the whole world dependent on his gate and made his gate the qibla for the realisation of the necessities of the people.

But as for him who collects a large number of people on his side; cares for no right or merit in them except their loyalty and sincerity towards his individual self; rules over a country through their power and dignity; strikes and takes and seizes and gives; every day shows favours to his helpers and supporters, and increases their power and dignity; thinks the permanence of his kingdom to be due to them, and strives for their convenience and promotion without

paying any regard to their defects and merits - such a person is called a usurper (mutaghallib) and not a king. The eyes of such a man are turned away from God, the Almighty, and he is busy (exclusively) with his helpers and supporters all the time, until matters come to such a pass, that he turns all low, mean, base, defective and worthless men of bad origin and low origin into his pillars and supports, and in whom he sees greater loyalty and sincerity for his individual self, and in whom he finds power and grandeur. No doubt thousands and thousands of usurpers have arisen on this earth from every class that can be imagined; they have ruled for some time through the power and grandeur of F.56b a body of supporters, and have cast themselves and their followers into hell. They have also left this earth (in such a way), that their name and their trace have remained neither in the conversations nor in the hearts of the people.

But those (rulers), whose eyes have been wholly fixed on God, the Almighty, who have created general grades and ranks for merit, greatness, piety, nobility, free-birth, wisdom, skill and morality, they have fulfilled their obligations towards every virtue through their government to the extent of their power; and in the discharge of their obligations they have looked at everyone with the same eye. Their memory remains until the Day of Judgment among the people of God, and through this they obtain their salvation

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and high spiritual grades in the next world.

O sons of Mahmud, you ought to know, that concerning all the offices of the court, from wizarat to the post of the gate-porter which have been created by the wise men of the past, the wise practice has been to outline the ranks and grades of the helpers and supporters of the king, so that in accordance with their work and their loyalty, the claims and sincerity of the officers may be kept in regard by the king's court. And more than this, some supporters of the king, in addition to their sincerity and loyalty to him, are adorned with merits; their quest for religion F.57a overpowers their desire (for the goods) of this world; and in all their dealings, whether general or particular, the 248 regard for God and for the people of God (catches hold) of their skirt. The king is honoured through their actions in this world and the next, and their good deeds and virtues are preserved by being recorded in books. But if the supporters of the king are the captives of vileness and have no object but the collection of worldly goods; and because of their lack of religious faith, regard for God and the people of God does not control their dealings, the king is disgraced in this world and the next, on account of their actions. His name and his trace disappear from this world after a little while; but his regret and shame, that he has made such people into his helpers, supporters and partners

in his royal dignity, will last for all eternity. But it will be of no use! If the chief helpers and supporters of the king are adorned with merits, then through their conduct all the inhabitants of the kingdom will become the helpers and supporters of the king.

May God bless the soul of Amir Sabuktigin, who brought up his slaves so well-mannered and refined, and instructed them in religious knowledge, and educated those whom God had created with good character. When Mahmud attained to the throne, he made the slaves of his father his helpers F.57b and supporters, and assigned countries and territories to them. And because of their religious and governmental transactions, the distinguished men of those countries became the supporters of Mahmud; the general public prayed for his government, and his good name has remained in this world. So, O sons of Mahmud and O kings of the earth, it ought not to enter your mind, that in all your kingdom there was a man of merit or a man deserving to be given recognition of his claim, who did not receive full reward from you, and who did not acquire full advantage from you as a right due to his distinction and who was your loyal well-wisher, and who did not wish for the downfall of your government. But a time comes, when the majority of the people then living will be mean, low-born and worthless, while merit and virtue becoming considerably diminished.

These base and sordid men will obtain greatness and leadership from you, and establish themselves in places of men of merit and virtue. Since they consider themselves to be men of merit and greatness, you and (other) kings will inevitably be pleased with (these) people,[249] and they will become your loyal well-wishers, helpers and supporters. And because of these base, sordid and low-born people, there will be no salvation for you or for them...[250] F.58a

(Sultan Mahmud has stated),[251] "I remember my father saying that there is no pain, sorrow and even death worse and more troublesome and bitter for the mean and the sordid, than that the king should cast his eyes on merit, honour and free-birth, virtues of character, cleverness and skill, that he should consider the claim due to greatness, and that he should create special ranks and grades, and deal in accordance with them".

It is written in the histories of the ancients, that God Almighty[252] does not consider (worldly) honour and dignity to be really such, unless the king's court creates and displays persons (worthy of) honour, high position, dignity, greatness, grandeur and respect. So it is incumbent and obligatory on the part of kings, whose greatest object is the protection of the Faith and the stability of the kingdom, that in their bestowal of dignities, they should follow the traditions of the Almighty God. Whomsoever God has distinguished and

honoured with merit, distinction and skill, he should in proportion to his merit be distinguished and honoured (by ~~the~~ kings). The kings should in proportion (to his merits) give him a portion and a part of their dignity and honour, and make him respected and dignified among the generality of the people. (Conversely), concerning him, whom God has created with baseness and disgraced with sin, iniquity and lack of merit; who, as a trick of Satan, has come into existence as a slave of this world and the victim of passion, it is F.58b necessary for farsighted kings to deal with him, and to treat him according to the principle of his creation, so that the wisdom of the Creator may illuminate the hearts of the nobles and the commons. But if the king, because of the inclination of his own nature, by reason of his vanity, and the result of his wilfulness and lack of wisdom, makes him honoured, then he holds God in contempt, and behaves towards Him like the disgraced. For the king, in opposition to the wisdom of creation, has put in the place of honour, one whom God has disgraced, and lives with him like a friend, and has dealings with him on the lines of a distinguished and well-born person, and benefits him with his own dignity and power. Such a man is not worthy of succession to the vicegerency and the deputyship of God; to give him the title of king would be a crime, for he has turned the (matchless) bounty of God into an instrument of sin. Opposition to the wisdom of creation,

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causes ruin to him both in (religion) as well as worldly affairs, and he is ultimately chastised in the next world. Thus so many kings, on account of behaving in opposition to (the wisdom of creation) have become inhabitants of hell. And because they do not pay heed to the wisdom of Almighty God, and turn their back on Him through their personal desires, God incites all their helpers and supporters against them, so that in the presence and absence (of these kings), they do what they wish.

Naushirwan, the Just, in his Testament to his son, F.59a Hurmuz, has written: "O son, know and beware, that the throne of the Kisras is indeed a magnificent throne. As I have found you most noble among all my sons, I have selected you for the throne. I am writing this brief advice for you in accordance with the testament giving traditions of the Sultans. If you act according to them, I will not be ashamed before God, while you will prosper in your kingdom; you will have good reputation in this world, and on the Day of Judgment you will not be incapable of answering (God).

"My first precept to you, my beloved son, is this. Give due reward to the people of God for their virtues, and create grades and ranks for the merits of the people. Outline grades with reference to every merit; allot honour, position, dignity and grandeur to every group of people in accordance with their estimated grades, and treat them in accordance with

these estimated grades, which have to be created through wazirs, wise men, religious scholars and priests, in all matters appertaining to the bestowal of robes, gifts, offices and taking counsel, sitting and standing, talking and listening. And do not have any dealing with the people of God, and in particular with the notables of your kingdom in the affairs of your government on the basis of confusion and bigotry and camel and cat incongruity. And do not raise any matter which the wise men of your country may attribute to your lack of wisdom or self-opinionatedness.

"And know, O son, that Almighty God has created the king superior to all the other people and given the entire F.59b glory of the world to him. So it ought to be that the nobles should receive the reward of their greatness from his door and from him, and that he may become the medium of their dignity and position. Of (all) the honour, that is obtained among the people, he should be the means; for the affairs of the king are indeed very great. The consequence of the king's dealings are soon visible among the people and have permanent results. It takes a long time before a person honoured by him is disgraced, or a person disgraced by him attains to honour. But as to the honour attained among the people by those who (renounce)[255] the world, and by monks, this is due to the fact that they forsake this world, which is the lady-love of the sons of Adam, and turn their backs upon the people.

The king has no power in allotting this sort of honour, nor is he a means of attaining to it.[256]

"In short, O son, it is up to you not to disgrace the posts and offices of your government by assigning them to the foolish, the ignorant, the sinful, the base-born, persons of no consequence, and the victims of vice. Because of the disgrace and ill-repute of the officers of the realm, the king is also disgraced and acquires a bad repute. Considering this great honour and the throne, which the king has obtained from the court of the Self-Sufficient, how can it be permitted, and how can sane judgment and sound reason approve, that he should take people with the qualities of pigs, bears, dogs F.60a apes, panthers and lions, as the co-sharers and partners in his dominion, or that he should appoint to offices of dignity, people who have been created with the character of wild beasts and animals, and leave the ordering and the regulation of the affairs (qabz wa bast)[257] of the people of God to such men? But at the time when Satan deludes them, and their minds become violent, and they start thinking that if they make their own followers great; if offices are given to the well-wishers of their kingdoms, and if ~~men of~~ their own partisans are endowed with grandeur and power, then the holders of authority will be their own dummies. (گوارزان). The main object in bestowing (greatness)[258] is loyalty to the king. They are unable to suppress such ideas, or to raise to office,

those whom God has adorned, or by a fine policy to make the seekers of God into their own followers, or to restrain their hands from (promoting) those whom God has damned. How can such kings hope for good reputation in this world and salvation in the next, or expect prosperity in religious and worldly matters through the dealings of the damned ones? O my son, know that if a king does not create ranks and grades of merit, and does not impose upon himself the duty of keeping them in view, how will he be able to distinguish those who are called (by God) from those who are damned? Without the touch-stone of wisdom and the mirror of intelligence,[259] F.60b the fortunate cannot be separated from the accursed.

"If the king does not reward merit in accordance with the orders for settling ranks and grades, so many things disapproved by reason and religion will have to be tolerated:-

"The (first)[260] is this, that the honour of the unworthy and the disgrace of those eternally worthy, leads to contentions, and this brings about religious and worldly ruin.

"The second harm caused by negligence in creating ranks among the people, and in ignoring them is this, that because of the honour bestowed upon the base-born and the conferment of dignity on the ignobles[261] (over) the venerable, the well-born and the noble, it often happens, that the base and the low sit on the seat of government, and the latter (i.e. the well-born) serve and obey. This inevitably implies haughtiness

and cheating on the part of the king.

"The <u>third</u> harm in honouring the base and degrading the noble-born is this, that the king, by showing inclination towards the base and the (low-born)[262] and (detesting) the noble and the well-born, bears witness to his own baseness.

"The <u>fourth</u> disallowed (thing) concerning the forbidding of negligence in creating grades of merit, and avoidance of putting them into operation is this, that the power of the king, which is indeed a great power, becomes futile (by so doing). This is a heinous fraud, which inevitably confronts the king. O son, know, that the greatest work in the affairs of kingship, which is a means to good repute in this world F.61a and salvation in the next is, that the helpers and supporters of the king - his wazirs, governors, qazis, officers, leaders and commanders of the army, should be persons of merit, and should not be captives of vice. And this object is not attained without creating ranks and grades of merit and without exposing vices and blemishes. Therefore, the publication of ranks and grades of notables is necessary and obligatory on the king".

Men of experience have said, that the merits which entitle a man to honour and dignity at the king's court, are of two kinds.

<u>First</u>, there is 'absolute merit', which has to be proved by the touch-stone of reason and the mirror of experience,

for many base men have the outward appearance of the virtuous. Publishing ranks and grades is useful to the king in issuing the orders of government; for the man of merit obtains the reward of his merit, and becomes aware of his estimated rights. Also the display of these merits, if they are self-created, becomes a means for changing the base character of others. Persons involved in vices get rid of their false expectations. There are numerous advantages in publishing the grades of every merit. For with reference to every merit, if we reflect upon it, there will be none which does not have a first, (a medium)[263] and a high degree - e.g. in birth F.61b and lineage, in learning, in wisdom and (amiable)[264] qualities of character, in noble arts and in varieties of experience. These qualities and virtues are merits; and in accordance with their degree - first, medium and high - they are entitled to dignity at the royal court.

The second kind of merit is 'determined by the king'. When Almighty God makes the king the ruler over a country or territory, He gives him honour and dignity over everyone else and makes the inhabitants of that region, country or territory obedient to him and dependent upon him. The great position of the king expresses itself with reference to his sons, brothers, relatives, well-wishers, partisans, courtiers and slaves. Their merit cannot be called absolute, but there can be no doubt about its being relative (arzi). For example,

good birth is an (absolute) merit, but relationship to the king is a greater merit than good birth. Thus the legality of power bears its fruit, and the above-mentioned groups as a matter of necessity become co-sharers and partners of the king in governmental affairs. Relationship to the king becomes the basis of their rights; and the said merit, though it is relative, becomes superior to other merits. But we are concerned with this. If those who have the merit of being the king's relatives are base, mean and low-born, F.62a how can they have a right to offices of the kingdom and positions of dignity? There is much to say about the matter. That all or most men with merit of relationship (to the king) should be of low or mean birth is exceptional; and there can be no law about exceptions. And great men have also said this: "The possession of dominion makes the captives of vice, men of merit". In short, the publication of the ranks and grades of the notables of the kingdom is one of the obligations of kings. The basis of the publication (of ranks and grades), depends upon question of birth and God alone knows the truth!

With reference to this Nasihat, the accounts of the publication of ranks by Caliph 'Umar and the creation of grades by Mamun, are worthy of credence.

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat.

Be sure O sons of Mahmud, that Imam Asmai has said in

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the _Tarikh-i-Ma'asir-i-Sababah_, that when the Caliphate devolved on the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar Khattab, many countries were conquered, the world came under the shadow of the banner of Islam and the light of Islam illuminated the countries of Arabia, Persia, Syria and Egypt. Wealth and valuables began to arrive (at Medina) by way of _jizya_, _kharaj_, _ushur_, _zakat_ and one-fifth of the spoils of war. The Commander of the Faithful, Umar, though he followed none of the customs of tyrants, great or small, was nevertheless for the purpose of giving gifts from the Public Treasury driven to publish the ranks and grades of the Companions. He F.62b summoned the leading Companions and said to them: "Through the blessings of the prevalence of the religion of Mustafa, wealth and position have devolved (upon us). This position and wealth must be distributed among all those entitled to it; and it ought to reach everyone according to the rights of Islam, which take precedence over all other rights. Until I have not created ranks and grades due to the Islamic virtues among the _Mohajirs_, _Ansars_ and those who have accepted Islam after the death of the Prophet of the Lord of the Universe, and also published these ranks and grades, any measure of distribution I adopt, will be vain. No-one will consent to it, and the hearts of people will not be at ease. Unless everyone knows his real status, his heart will not be satisfied with what he receives, and the task of distribution will not

be fortified".

The leading Companions approved the Commander of the Faithful's design of creating ranks and grades and said unanimously: "The promulgation of ranks and grades, the settlement of everyone's claims, and the distribution of the wealth of the Public Treasury according to them, is the true policy of the religion and the government. Its benefit is universal, and it will lead to peace of mind, satisfaction of heart and to mutual good-will. If gifts are made in accordance with the ranks of honour that the Commander of the Faithful (has) outlined, these ranks of honour will remain F.63a with the family and descendants of everyone till the Day of Judgment".

The Commander of the Faithful ordered the names of all Muhajirs, Ansars, and Tabi'in to be recorded on paper, and each group to be listed rank by rank. The Commander of the Faithful made claims to Islam the basis of the claims to the Public Treasury. He ordered that in the first grade (the names of) the family of the Prophet and his relatives, i.e. the Bani Hashim,[266] were to be written. In the second grade, hijrat was to be preferred to other claims; and the Muhajirs were to be listed before the Ansars. He further divided the Muhajirs into grades. Thus the people of the Bait-i-Rizwan[267] were given precedence over the people of the battle of Badr,[268] and the names of the latter were written before (the names of)

the people of the battle of Ohad.[269] The names of those who had immigrated before the conquest of (Mecca)[270] were written first, while the names of those who had accepted Islam after it, were written later. After that the names of the Tabi'in were written in accordance with their piety, learning and participation in the holy wars. Lastly, the genealogy and the seniority and juniority of the tribes were fixed.

After the completion of this list of ranks and grades, everything received was distributed according to the status of every group. And what the Caliph (fixed)[271] was given every year; the family of the Prophet, the Muhajirs and the Ansars received every year (their share) in accordance with the ranks and grades, that had been fixed. And all other F.63b matters between the Companions with reference to respect, (honour)[272], veneration, dignity, (standing and sitting)[273], were settled in accordance with these published ranks and grades. The Commander of the Faithful enlisted himself among the people who were present at the battle of Badr; he contented himself with what was fixed for this grade and had nothing written to his credit for his office as Caliph. He did not expect a single dirham beyond (the share) of the people of Badr. By the publication of these grades of dignity, the hearts of the majority of the Companions and Tabi'in were at rest; every group and rank felt secure; their mutual good-will increased; and no fear of contention in the matter of

distribution appeared in the mind of anyone. Love for the Commander of the Faithful and esteem for his Caliphate grew more in everyone's heart.[274]

Imam Sa'alabi writes in the Tarikh-i-Abbasian,[275] that when Mamun ascended the throne of the Caliphate after Mohammad Amin, great distraction and disorder had arisen in the territory of Ajam, because of the contention between the two brothers, which had preceded his accession.[276] He (desired) to put the minds of the people at ease, and to create general good-will. He ordered a list to be prepared of the names of all the notables of Baghdad; the names of those who were in the service of the Caliphate were to be written separately. F. 64a The ranks and grades of the merits of all the notables among the servants of the Caliphate, as well as of the inhabitants of Baghdad were to be outlined, and their degrees were to be fixed. In accordance with the estimate (of their merit) and the degree of their claim,[277] they were to be given (offices) and posts in the city of Baghdad and the provinces, and also salaries, gifts, awards and robes of honour were to be given to them (thus). In the matter of sitting and standing in the court, and in appearing and departing from there, everyone was to be treated in accordance with these grades. And whatever was to be given to them in the first year according to these ranks on the basis of their birth, character, skill, service to the Caliphate, as well as loyalty and good-will towards

it, was also to be given in the same manner in every (succeeding) year. No group or clan, old or new, was to be ignored. It is related, that the wazirs and the great officers of the court devoted themselves for quite a few days in publishing the grades of the people in accordance with the degrees of their merits and recording the awards to be given to them in accordance with these grades. Soon, because of this promulgation and award, complete reconciliation was obtained, and universal good-will was acquired.[278]

Nasihat No. VII F.64a

On the King's Conscientious Regard for the Affairs of the Army, its Expansion and Stability, which is one of the Duties of Government.

Sultan Mahmud has said: O sons of Mahmud, you, and everyone whom God elevates to the position of a king and protector of the Faith, ought to know that without a large, powerful, magnificent and stable army, it has not been F.64b possible for any ruler or king, past or present to maintain his rule; to direct his administration; to establish (the prestige) of his conquests in the hearts of the people and bring the (world)[279] under his rule and government;[280] to crush the rebellious and the refractory and bring the stubborn and the disobedient under his control; to suppress the contention of rivals and the opposition of equals and the hostility of the powerful; to overthrow the molestors of the religion and the kingdom of Mohammad; to uproot the molestors of the <u>Sharia</u> of Mohammad and establish the glory of the true creed over false religions; to enforce the orders of the <u>Sharia</u> over the seventy-two creeds, to conquer countries, regions, provinces and territories from the infidels with the blows of the sword; to obtain booty beyond reckoning for the victors and holy warriors and those rightfully entitled to it among the Mussalmans; to close all avenues to the enemies of the country and the molestors of the government, and to discharge the great

obligations of the sovereign head. All kings, past and present, from the time of Kaimurs, who was the first ruler over the sons of Adam, have known to this effect from experience; and (so) they have not refrained from exert- F.65a ing themselves and striving in this matter.

Kai-khusrau, who was the ruler of the entire inhabited world, propounded the maxim, "kingship is the army, and the army is kingship". That is, kingship is maintained by two pillars - the first pillar is monarchy and the second pillar is conquest. Both pillars are maintained by the army. For if there is no army, or if the army is small and distressed and disorderly, neither monarchy nor conquests will be possible. It is because of this fact, great kings have said that the heart of the king ought to be always devoted to the army, for only then will the affairs of the army be put in good order. If the king is negligent about the affairs of the army, he will have destroyed the army and the kingdom with his own hands. If the king's heart is devoted (exclusively) to the collection of wealth, the affairs of the army will never be put in good order; wealth will also not be collected, but whatever the king possesses will soon be scattered. But if the desire for the proper arrangement and organisation of the army takes possession of the king's bosom, the affairs of the army will certainly be put in good order. And because of the strength of the army, he will collect more wealth than

can be contained in any treasury. This matter has been clear to (wise men)[281] for years, and it has also been proved by experience.

The historians of Ajam have related that they asked Jamshed: "What isthe basis of kingship?" Jamshed replied[282] "A large number of well organized soldiers and plenitude of justice and benevolence". Three times they put the same question to Jamshed, and every time he returned the same F.65b reply. The questioners asked Jamshed (again)[283]: "What is your reason for giving precedence to a large army over justice and benevolence?" Jamshed replied: "If the world is not kept in subjection by the army, if the disobedience and (revolts)[284] of the refractory, and the traitors are not turned into obience and submission, and if through the power and the grandeur of the army law and order are not maintained in the world, neither the enforcement of justice nor of benevolence will be possible".

Alexander asked Aristotle: "On what things does the large size and the stability of the army, which is the basis of kingship, depend?" Aristotle replied: "An army becomes large and stable through four things. First, the arrangement of the affairs of the army should have the exclusive attention of the king, so that under no circumstances does he fail to apply himself to them, and he knows for certain, that his existence is dependent upon the existence of the army.

"Secondly, the army becomes large and stable through the enormous and unsparing expenditure of money. If, for example, hundreds of designs and schemes are pursued, unless money is spent without after thought, the army will not become large and stable.

"Thirdly, the commanders should be affectionate and kind to their soldiers and endowed with the virtues recommended by wise men. For the king has to deal with the army only occasionally, but the commanders have to live with the F.66a soldiers and deal with them day and night. If their qualities of leadership are defective, no army will remain standing on its feet.

"The fourth[285] thing which leads to the increase in the number of the army and its good order, is the maturity and the intrinsic qualities of the Chief Ariz. If money is spent recklessly, the number of the army does increase, but until the commanders and the muster-masters are not of such (quality) as laid down, the army is never in good order and will never remain in good order, (because) from the cowards, the deficient and the traitors every week and every month, confusion and disruption arise".

When Alexander heard Aristotle's reply, he asked him again: "What ought to be the extent of the king's devotion to affairs of the army?" Aristotle replied: "The King's devotion to the affairs of the army ought to be such that he

may desire to give his own horses and arms to a soldier so that he may become a _murattab_ (a fully equipped fighter)[286] and join the cavalry. If he sees or hears of any confusion in the army, he is unable to sleep according to his desire, and finds no satisfaction and peace of mind for himself unless by such means as are available, he has removed that confusion; and until the affairs of the army have been put in good order, he is unable to apply himself with peace of mind to anything else".

Alexander next asked for an elucidation of the qualities, which are necessary for the commanders of the army. "There are," Aristotle replied, "ten qualities which must be found necessarily in (army commanders).[287] _First_, fear of God; F.66b if there be no fear of God in the army officer, he is not to be assigned the command of even ten horsemen. If they ignore knowledge and reason, and appoint an officer who has no fear of God, they will see from him what they will see. _Second_ is loyalty to the king. If the officer is not loyal to the king, the army, which is the pivot of kingship, cannot be assigned to him. _Third_ is integrity of the self; If the officer does not have a sound mind, the sight of so many persons obedient to him will rouse other desires in his mind; and this will be injurious both to him and to his subordinates. _Fourth_ is purity of birth. If the officer is not of good birth, neither will the army be secure from him, nor will he

be capable of any task in support and aid of the religion of the state. Fifth is faithfulness. The officer ought to be so faithful that he may not sit on a (new) branch every time. Sixth, he must have experience in the art of war. If the officer has no experience of war, he will not be able to keep himself and his men safe. Seventh, the officer should be a man of family and following, so that the army may have regard for him, while his family and following become a surety for him, and he is worthy of confidence. Eighth, the officer ought to be brave and expert in the art of horsemanship. Nineth, he ought to be generous, so that he may not be willing to see his men hungry and naked, because a miser is not always able to keep the army prosperous. Tenth, he ought to be truthful in speech and pure minded, so F.67a that the soldiers may have trust in his words and deeds, and that he does not in their presence or in their absence, cast his eyes at the women and children of anyone. Whenever the officer is adorned with these ten qualities, everyone under his command remains satisfied and secure.[288] Fourthly, the cause due to which the army becomes numerous and remains stable is the Ariz-i-Asl, who is called the Ariz-i-Mumalik. In (enjoying) king's confidence, he is equal to the wazir, and in loyalty to the king, he attains to the highest position. There is no-one like him in trustworthyness, efficiency, honesty, truthfulness, compassion, good birth, dignity, purity

of faith, and the fulfilment of promise. The better endowed the Ariz-i-Mumalik is with orthodox virtues and commendable loyalty, the greater will be the size and the strength of the king's army, for all the affairs of the army, great or small, are entrusted to his judgment and care. Further, when the chief Ariz with perfect judgment and complete virtues is appointed, the same reflections will appear in the Arizes of the army of the whole kingdom. The chief Ariz, by his very temperament and natural disposition, will not allow any stupid, mean, languid, liar, faithless, crooked or any men of unkind disposition, to be in charge of the army. At the head of the troops he will summon all Arizes to be of good character, commendable behaviour, experienced and trustworthy. In (every) campaign in which, from top to bottom, only good, wise and kindly officers have been appointed, F.67b even if that campaign be grave and difficult, it will be realised in accordance with the desire of the king, and no fear will come to the hearts of the wise about its realisation. It is related in the book Ma'asir-ul-Wuzara[289] that the wazirs of olden times have said unanimously: "If great affairs fall into disorder and distraction and cannot be set right, the reason for it is negligence and carelessness in the sanctity of principle. They expect from the ignorant, the thieves, the base-born, the cowardly and the corrupt, to do the work of wise, trustworthy, well-born and courageous

persons, and hope for the execution of important affairs and the (successful) conclusion of great tasks from men of no standing and from incompetent persons".

Ardeshar Babakan has said about the virtues of the Chief Ariz: "Since the foundation of kingship is the army, and kingship is maintained by the army, and without the army the king and his subjects would be equal, and the preservation of the king is due to the army, therefore the Ariz ought to be a man who in sincerity and fidelity is the very breath of the king. He should be more kind to the army than a mother and father. He ought to veil the faults of army. In his severity and rigour, the Ariz ought to punish and correct F.68a the soldiers as a kind father punishes an impudent son. He should not carry cruelty, injury, oppression and punishment to extremes, and in any punishment he inflicts, he should keep the door of reconciliation open. He should be able to distinguish the head from the feet, and he should not disgrace his loyal and brave officers for a minor and insignificant fault. As to the unintelligent, the wrong-doers and the victims of passions, he should be content to rub their ears and twist their eyebrows, to administer a few stripes, to hand them to the military police and to confine them. He should not resort to extremes. He should from time to time, keep the king informed of the crimes and faults of the army, but so far as possible, he should prevent the king from

inflicting death penalties, severities and harsh punishment on the army. He should not make the king the enemy of the army or vice versa. The misfortunes, calamities and hardships of the army, he should consider to be his own; he should be a participant in their sorrow and a co-sharer in their delight and he should deem his peace of mind, comfort and ease, to consist in their prosperity. In all affairs and in all conditions, the Ariz ought to deal with the army in such a manner, that the confidence of the army in him is not in any way decreased, his awe and prestige are inscribed on the hearts of the army, and as a result of their very great confidence in him, the soldiers deem themselves to be F.68b the tribesmen and the followers, the slaves and servants of the <u>Ariz</u>. To act according to the above principles with so many thousands and thousands of men of different temperaments and varied characters, requires the skill of Buzurchemehirs[290] and the endowments and qualities of Asafs.

The rulers of the past have been extremely careful in the recruitment and preservation of the army, and in this matter, which is the most important affair of the government, they have undermined no subtle principle suggested by the dictates of knowledge and wisdom. It was only then that they had been able to collect four hundred thousand or five hundred thousand (selected)[291] and choicest men, whom they had equipped and armed fully, and kept fully equipped. Through

their strength, they had undertaken world conquests, reduced other countries and realms and brought them under their sway and dominion. Their hands have achieved heroic tasks concerning religion and government, and because of their achievements their name and fame and their good deeds have survived until to-day, and will survive until the Day of Judgment. It is incumbent and obligatory on the wise kings that in the direction of administrative affairs, and specially in the furtherance of a course of action which is the very basis of kingship, they follow the lead and guidance of those rulers, whose good repute has survived in this world. In the work of government they should trust and follow F.69a the precepts, testaments and advices (of such rulers), and not the sayings and advices of those people who[292] (have no)[293] knowledge about the affairs of government and about the management and organisation of a town or a village, and about keeping it organised and in proper order. Such persons may be experts in all branches of knowledge, such as fiqh, literature (fazl), eloquence, grammar and poetry, but their acquaintance with branches of knowledge, which are necessary for the affairs of government, administration and conquest is[294] meagre and in fact, quite useless.

O Sons of Mahmud and kings of the earth, it will be known to you what arrangements and efforts Mahmud has made for the increase of the army, and for its equipment and stability.

During the first three years of his reign, he along with his wise and loyal advisers, was absorbed in framing regulations through which the army was to increase every year and to be in good order and remain in good order. When his mind was freed from the task of framing these regulations according to his satisfaction, he embarked upon conquest. If Mahmud had found anyone better in birth, virtuous character, honesty, sincerity, compassion, devoutness and reliability than Abul Qasim Kasir in his kingdom, he would have appointed him Ariz over his army. And what sort of an Ariz is Abul Qasim? As many lacs as he receives for the expenses of the army, he F.69b spends entirely in looking after the army. He is more kind to the army than a mother or a father. In spite of the firm claims, which Mahmud has over him, when the question of the army arises, he has no fear of Mahmud in matters appertaining to its proper organisation and good order. If Mahmud does not listen to his opinion in matters appertaining to the army, or if Mahmud does not give what he recommends as a matter of policy, he immediately says good-bye to his household and wishes to shave his head, and take the road to Hijaz. He has been performing the duties of the Ariz for so many years, yet no lies have come to his lips. All the people of Ghaznin have seen and witnessed that Mahmud annihilated so many _Rais_ and _Ranas_ in the realms of Hind and Sind; he caught hold of their treasures and buried wealth, goods and property; he

captured their women, children and subjects as spoil, and he brought the treasures and buried wealth of Qarun[295] to Ghaznin. Has he not given these treasures and piles and heaps of gold and silver to the army from the treasury at the time of paying their salaries? Indeed, how could the treasures of Mahmud be reckoned? He (Abul Qasim) kept the army so well-equipped and organized through plenty of gold, that owing to its power, prestige and obedience, Mahmud was capable of great achievements. He uprooted the temples of the infidels, which were some thousands of years old; and so many thousand idol temples, which were the places of worship of the idolaters, became the mosques of the Mussalmans. Several thousand extensive countries and regions, both far and near, through the grace of the Almighty God and the power of his well-equipped and organised army, came under his control and remained under his control. The kings of the earth put the fingers of humility between their lips, and all of them became submissive and obedient to Mahmud. The main parts of the inhabited world came into Mahmud's hands. F.70a

Mahmud has read (as follows) in the <u>Tarikh-i-Khulafa-i Abbasi</u>,[296] that when Harun-ur-Rashid fully made up his mind for conquest, he asked the Barmakids,[297] everyone of whom was a Buzurchemehr and an Asaf, to look into the old records, and see the old regulations in order to find out how earlier kings had organised such large armies by which they conquered

and controlled the world. The Barmakids collected the able and astute men of Baghdad, and after considerable reflection and discussion over the study of old records and the examination of old regulations, the minds of all the wazirs were settled on five regulations as being necessary for a large force and its proper upkeep. The five regulations by which a large force can be made numerous and kept strong are as F.70b follows:-

The First regulation is this, that an account of the recruitment of soldiers ought to be brought to the king's notice year by year, and it should be made clear in accurate detail before the king's throne, as to who has been recruited and where from.

The Second regulation is this, that the king ought to know correctly the amount of salary which in years of plenty and of scarcity, is needed to provide equipment for the soldiers, and to set their minds at ease about the needs of their families.

The third regulation is this, that an inquiry about the horses and the arms is necessary twice a year. This investigation should be made by persons concerning whom there can be no suspicion of dishonesty and falsehood, so that there does not arise any tumult at the time of posting or during the battle. This review should be at such time and place, that it can be finished at one stretch. This order (of review)

should be universal.

The fourth regulation is this, that the victors and the holy warriors are tested in the art of horsemanship, so that other groups, who have nothing to do with this work, and belong to the class of artisans or other professions, do not find a place among them. The enrolment of the ignoble among the gallant warriors throws the work of the army into disorder.

The fifth regulation is this, that an order to secure the increase and stability of the army, the officers (should) be[298] select and distinguished men, well-born, brave and virtuous.

Mahmud, according to his capacity, has followed these five regulations of Harun-(ur-Rashid) for increasing and organising his army; also according to time and circumstances he has F.71a framed and enforced other regulations. Then he has collected three hundred thousand horsemen and a hundred thousand paid foot. He also has thirty thousand well-equipped and permanent horsemen from among the slaves. Mahmud has made his army stable and permanent by paying some soldiers from distant provinces, some from villages near the cities, others from cultivated lands, and the rest - nearly half of the whole army - from the treasury. He has always shed tears of blood (i.e. striven his hardest) for the stability of the army and has always been well-informed about the condition of every group. Most of Mahmud's taking great pains (khun khwurdan) has been for the organisation of the slaves, for this involves the

the greatest difficulty. Mahmud faced difficulty for twelve years to collect and organise thirty thousand horsemen from[299] among his slaves. Of these thirty thousand (slave-horsemen), fifteen thousand are (Hindu slaves)[300] and fifteen thousand are from the countries of China and Khita. Perhaps if all the old and young among them are counted, they would amount to more than a hundred thousand persons.

Mahmud saw[301] (both) advantages and disadvantages in collecting an army of slaves. But the first advantage in collecting slaves is this, that does the king not appear powerful and dignified because of a large number of slaves? A large number of elephants and stables show the power, dignity, honour and prestige of the king and frighten and terrify enemies, both far and near. A large number of slaves and slave-soldiers also come within the same category. On account of a large number of well-organised and well-prepared slaves, the king seems to be of great importance in the eyes of men.[302] F.71b

The second advantage in having a large number of slaves is this, that the slaves, for the sake of their distinction, rush into battles and the capture of forts before the rest of the army.[303] And for the sake of their name and fame - so that they may be reputed and accounted for their loyalty to the salt, and their precedence over the (king's) servants may be established, they (strive)[304] with their heart and soul for the success of the campaign. They throw themselves like a

ball into running water and burning fire. Then it becomes necessary for the whole army to take the same path as they have done. This is a great advantage and its greatness is obvious.

The <u>third</u> advantage in having a large number of slaves is this, that the pride and haughtiness of the army commanders decrease at the awareness of their existence. When the slaves become numerous, no community or group from fear of them can think of over-powering (the government); they know that the slaves are a hostile body, and that they will not be friendly or follow anyone except their own group. This too, is also not a small advantage. F.72a

The dangers arising out of the collection of slaves and keeping them together are as follows:- most of them 305 are shameless and reckless. In the Hindu (slaves), though they may grow up for years from childhood to maturity among the Mussalmans, the smell of hereditary Islam and fear of God, with which the veins and tendons of the bodies of the Mussalmans are imbued, are not found in them. Among the Mongols, even if they are favoured for years, no loyalty is to be seen. Other things seldom strike their minds except ~~over~~-subjugation, rapacity and revolt. Mahmud was constantly worried because of the anxieties caused by their large numbers and their flocking together; that they are of one group and one mind, and there can be no permanent security

against their revolt. The fear and anxiety of this danger is indeed great. Furthermore, it is a long time since wise men propounded the proverb: "It is difficult to extinguish a domestic fire".

The sons of Mahmud and Kings of Islam are to know the subtle principles of managing the army. The first subtle principle is this, that if a man be worthy of being a commander of one hundred, and if with the utmost effort and with the help of others he can just manage to keep one hundred men in proper order, then one thousand or two thousand F.72b men should not be put under his charge. If the rulers defy experience and reason, they ought to wash their hands of (the hope) of managing the horsemen, whom they have assigned to the charge of the persons who are good for nothing, and they must attribute the (consequent) disorder and distraction to themselves. Similarly, if a man is worthy of commanding one thousand or two thousand soldiers, and through his capacity and intelligence these soldiers are kept well-equipped and firm, and the king deems his loyalty to be proved and confirmed, then only one hundred or fifty men should not be assigned to him. For this will break his heart, and the disappointment of the army-officers is not advisable. When a man does not get the due recognition of his claim, and sees the undeserving on a high office, it is certain that his loyalty will suffer, and that his inner self will always be dissatisfied.

(The <u>second subtle principle</u>)[305a] in maintaining the army is this, that if fifty thousand horsemen are sufficient for the kingdom, the king ought not to be content with these fifty thousand only. He should keep half as many more men, well-equipped and in good order than are sufficient; so that while these fifty thousand men remain in their place, in any contingency, that arises suddenly and is unforeseen, the king may not be helpless. At such a time new and inexperienced horsemen ought not to be enlisted; inexperienced and unreliable horsemen are not only useless but dangerous in a crisis (shikanja).

Many advantages accrue in governmental affairs by keeping a larger army than is necessary. The <u>first</u> of them is the (terror)[306] of the king, which becomes inscribed on the hearts of his equals. F.73a The second is this, that if the king happens to conquer a country or a territory and longs to annex it, these extra horsemen can be stationed there, while the army needed for the country is not divided. The taking into consideration of these ultimate consequences is the policy of far-sighted rulers.

O sons and kings, it is incumbent upon you, and it is incumbent upon you a thousand times, to consider everyone, even though he be your brother or son, to be an enemy of yours in religion and your government, if he says in any way: "Why must so many horsemen be recruited? What need is there

to give so much money (to the troops) unnecessarily?" - or else shows you the ways of saving money by the reduction of the army. You should twice every year, let enquiries be made into the Ministry of War in your own presence. Investigate the number of soldiers present, and if on these occasions more persons (than are on the rolls) do not pass before you (in the review), you should consider that the work of the army has not been going on smoothly. For this is a world of change and villainy; what goes away from one place appears at another place and (even) in greater numbers. If it F.73b were not so, this world would have been stable. Therefore, the affairs of the army should be stabilised. You should 307 give an order, that they may (always) be busy in making new recruitments to the army; even if a few men are recruited, the muster-master departments ought not be idle about the matter, and do not close this door. You are to know that if by any means it becomes clear to the muster-masters, army commanders and governors of your territories, that you are not particularly desirous about the increase of your army, or that your desire to save money obstructs it, then the army will not increase and even what you possess will not remain stable, but will diminish day by day.

The third subtle principle for the management of the army is this, that the army ought not to be left idle. It ought certainly be kept employed in collecting the revenue, guarding

the frontiers, cutting forests, building forts and hunting. This applies in particular to those who have ambitions of leadership or from whom mischief is to be feared. And if the heart of the king is at ease about the affairs of his kingdom, and his own country has been strengthened and his governmental affairs satisfactory, then he should give preference to conquests over other undertakings; and along with his stout-hearted and trusted officers, he [308] (ought) to undertake holy wars. F.74a He ought to know that the master of no conceivable art or profession cannot live without practising it. Similarly, if the army is not employed in its own profession, other desires will stir its heart and other ambitions will take possession of its mind.

Keeping the army at rest is also not without its advantages. But it has its fixed limits. There ought not to be so much rest as [309] (to cause) disturbances or to stir meaningless ambitions in its mind. But after being appointed for (a campaign), it is sufficient to keep the army at rest (till the marching begins) so that it knows.

Concerning this Nasihat, that there ought to be an army, and that it ought to be numerous and more than what is sufficient, the incident of Qubad, father of Nausherwan, the Just, and the manner in which the Kisras kept their troops, are appropriate.

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat.

It has been read in the "Tarikh-i-Akasirs"[310], that when the kingdom of Ajam devolved upon Qubad, father of Nausherwan, the Just, Qubad, who was a wise and virtuous king, treated the people of Ajam with justice, benevolence, mercy and compassion. He resorted to (the policy of) generosity, removed the old taxes and exactions from the records, and contented himself with jizya[311] and lawful kharaj from his subjects. The territories of Ajam began to recover and became prosperous[312] (affluent) and contented. After two or three years, on account of this jizya and the kharaj from (his)[313] provinces, a considerable amount of wealth was collected in the treasury of Qubad. By divine decree and divine destiny, the Qaisar of Rum, Qadr Khan of Khita, the Aziz of Egypt, the king of Syria, the Tubba of Yamen, the Sultan of Firang and the Rai of Qannauj, who were the equals of Qubad, sent gifts, presents, valuables and costly vessels to him and acknowledged his supremacy. They showed to him friendship and sincerity, and the frontiers of Qubad's empire were safe from molestation from kings of equal power. F.74b

In the organisation of their army, it was the custom of the ancient Kisras, who were the ancestors of Qubad, to keep a permanent army of one hundred and fifty thousand horsemen in the country of Ajam; if the horsemen were found to be below that figure in the review, twice the number by which they had fallen short, were recruited. One third of these one hundred

and fifty thousand horsemen had six horses. The total number of horses kept permanently and well-equipped for the army, was six lacs. The man who had only one horse, was considered to be an infantryman, and he got an infantryman's wages. Seventy-five thousand horsemen (i.e. one half of the total), were paid in cash from the treasury, while the remaining seventy-five thousand obtained (their salaries) from the (revenue)[314] of the provinces and the Kharaj of the Iqtas (assignments). Out of the total army, one third, calculated with reference to the number of horses it had, was kept within twenty or thirty Karohs of Madain for the suppression of casualties and calamities; they were kept busy with hunting, shooting of arrows, javelin throwing and playing the ball. Ten thousand horsemen from out (of them) were in turns deputed to act as guards and watchmen at the Court. One third of the army was put in charge of the holders of the territories and regions and the guarding of the frontiers, while the remaining one third was employed permanently in campaigning and bringing spoils from foreign countries. Where five thousand horsemen would have been enough for an undertaking, it was their custom to appoint ten thousand, so that the campaign was accomplished without any danger, and no delay or opposition arise. The greatness of the Kisras because of this achievement, was inscribed on the hearts of the people of the world.

F.75a

When the army despatched, finds that it is more in number than is necessary for the purpose, it is always stout-hearted and firm; and it knows for certain that it is going to win. Such thoughts as come to its mind from convictions of superiority are a source of success. As the campaigns of the Kisras succeeded very rapidly, due to their numerous army, and their (troops)[315] being seldom defeated, their prestige F.75b and greatness were circulated throughout the world.

Now the object behind bringing up the above subject is this. When Qubad seated himself firmly on the throne of Madain, he continued (to practise) the customary traditions of his ancestors with reference to army arrangements. After some years a man from his country, Mazdak, the Innovator, claimed prophethood in Ajam through his lies and the luck of his stars. He produced the book 'Zend Pazand', and proclaimed among the people: "This book has come down from Heaven". By this strange trick a discord arose among the people,[316] for this Mazdak was a man (acquainted) with jugglery, enchantments, necromancy and magic. Having become friendly with Qubad, he deceived the latter with his incantations, talismans, tested magic and tried sorceries, and brought him within his power through his alchemy, medicines for sex-potency and strange tricks. He so captivated Qubad that the latter never went beyond what he said. Mazdak desired to spread the religion of Ibahat among mankind, and to mislead

the world in accordance with the orders of <u>Zend Pazand</u>. But he had been unable to achieve this, and he was afraid of the terror and the prestige of the king and the strength of his army. (But now) he had become intimate with Qubad, and Qubad, who had become submissive to him, considered him as one of the counsellors of his kingdom, and a well-wisher of the government, and made him privy to his secrets of government. F.76a

One day, when Mazdak was sitting by the side of Qubad, he saw porters putting bags of dirhams and dinars on their heads in the Treasury, in order to take them to the Ministry of War for the payment of the troops. "Perhaps the king has a campaign at hand", Mazdak said, "that he is paying so much money to the troops". "I have no campaign at hand", Qubad replied: "And there is no danger, no molestation and no contention for me from any side in the affairs of government. But it is the tradition of my ancestors to keep a large (standing) army, whether there be campaign at hand or not, to pay its salary from the Treasury, and to spend money on their own security on 'the day that might come'". Mazdak thereupon said to Qubad: "No customary action is worthy of being followed unless it is approved by reason. For a day that 'might come', reason does not approve giving away so much gold that is in hand; no wise man has done it or will do it. Wealth is meant for the day of calamity and accident; if spent before

that, what will be there to spend on a day of calamity and accident?" Mazdak gave some arguments like these to F.76b Qubad until the desire for wealth (blinded)[317] Qubad's farsighted eyes and he consented to the reduction of the army. He directed the Ministry of War to give fifty thousand horsemen leave to depart, to reduce the total army by this number, and to keep back and not to disperse, the money which used to be given to them.

Qubad did not realise that by reducing his army by one-third, one third of his kingdom would be lost. According to the orders of Qubad, the Ministry reduced the total army by one-third. During the year in which the army was reduced, no disturbances arose in Ajam, and no trouble appeared because of the reduction of the soldiers. The saving of money on the army pleased Qubad. He thought that Mazdak was one of the well-wishers of his state and kingdom, and his faith in Mazdak increased. Next year he ordered the army to be decreased by another one-third; only a third of the total army that now remained was to be kept engaged in all the affairs of the kingdom. But when for the second time the army was again reduced by one-third, the soldiers were scattered. Most of them went to serve other kings, and some took to agriculture or business. Thus the one-third of the army which was left behind, did not remain intact and became suspicious. The majority of them dispersed and went their own way. The F.77a

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strength of (his) empire decreased. The power and prestige of Qubad and of his followers and supporters suffered a terrible damage. Weakness and disorder appeared in the affairs of government, and the awe and dignity of Qubad diminished in the hearts and minds of men.

At such a time, when Qubad was faced with distress and disgrace, Mazdak, the bastard, made the creed of Ibahat public, and promulgated his false religion of Ilhad (heresy) among the people. As Mazdak found some Godless libertines and wicked men as well as the naked (without means of support) and the dumb and the worthless men accepting his religion, and a body of men collecting round him, he ordered a general proclamation to be made in the bazaars and assemblies; "There is no distinction of property-rights, in wealth, goods, women, children, slaves and slave-girls among the sons of Adam; all are the (common) inheritance of mankind. Sons in this inheritance are partners with their fathers. The property and goods of this world are common to all. Daughters and sisters are not forbidden (for marriage). In the time of Adam, brothers took their sisters in marriage; the order now is what it was at the beginning". Such were the nonsensical ideas and idle talk, which he drummed into the ears of the people.

Mazdak ordered the poor to take possession of the wealth of the rich, and those who had no wives or slave-girls to F.77b

fall without hesitation on the wives and slave-girls of others. This was sufficient for the ill-starred, the wicked, the propertyless, the reckless and the shameless, who had been drinking their own blood due to their failures and poverty. They became mad and extended their hands to the wealth, property, wives, slave-girls, sons, daughters and slaves and slave-girls of other men. The poor fell upon the rich.

As the king had become weak from lack of an army, while Mazdak was surrounded with a body of rascals, there was no power to utter warnings or impose prohibitions. A great noise and tumult, a misfortune (as if) from heaven, in fact a tremendous disturbance arose in Ajam. The nobles and the distinguished, the rich and the well-to-do, the owners of wealth and property, were all faced with distraction and distress. The rules of the government and affairs of the kingdom were thrown into disorder. The commands of the king could not be executed. Helpless and despondent, Qubad crept into a corner of his palace; he was surprised at the mischief of Mazdak and fell ill as a result of his anger and distress. Rulers of equal power intruded into the country from all sides, and rivals appeared and captured the frontiers. The distinguished and famous inhabitants of Ajam with their wives, children and the goods in their possession, migrated to other countries and were scattered. Broken-hearted and tormented, Qubad died of this illness. In short, he had been unable F.78a

to remove the disorders and defects in the affairs of the army.

After the death of Qubad, Nausherwan, the Just, son of Qubad, ascended to the Kiyani[319] throne. On that very day he ordered the treasures of the Kisras to be opened and two hundred thousand soldiers to be taken into service on cash payment. In the course of one year, the army of Ajam was reorganised again. When through the strength of his numerous army Nausherwan saw that the work of the government had regained its power and dignity, he ordered Mazdak to be arrested with seventy thousand heretics. They were all crucified round Madain, and the religion and the creed of Mazdak was eliminated from amongst the people with the might of the sword. In consequence of their extirpation, the kingdom of Ajam was pacified, and the awe of Nausherwan was inscribed on the hearts of all men, far and near. The affairs of the kingdom were put into proper order and stabilised once more.[320]

Nasihat No. VIII[321] F.78a

On the Advantages of a Well-filled Royal Treasury.

Nasihat No. VIIIa[322] F.80b

On the Appointment of Royal Intelligencers.

Sultan Mahmud has said: O sons of Mahmud and Kings of the Earth, it is known to you and all men, that God has created gold and silver as a means for fulfilling the needs of the sons of Adam. The attainment of the objects of men and their good instruction are linked with their F.78b possession and expenditure of wealth. (Love)[323] for gold and silver has been carved on the hearts of men; respect for them is inscribed on everyone's breast; many persons have been created with a greater love and (inclination)[324] for gold and silver than for their own lives; and the needs of everyone whether great or small are linked with gold and silver. So naturally and instinctively, a person who has more gold and silver, has also more business to conduct.

Sin and iniquity, which arise (in society), are due to those who do not believe that God has a knowledge of the whole world and its details; or else they have doubts about His Knowledge and are not convinced that "He knows and sees". The Almighty God raises a man to the position of kingship and assigns the affairs of men to his discretion and judgment, and that man ought to treat God's creatures in a way conducive

both to the welfare of his religion and his kingdom, and that of his subjects. And this conduct of affairs will not achieve the right results without the knowledge of the good and the evil among the subjects. And whenever the commanders, officers, judges, governors, courtiers, companions, revenue-collectors and accountants, realise that the king is F.79a ignorant of their good and bad actions, why will they tremble and be afraid in their dealings with the people? Why will they, when overcome by their lust and greed, refrain from actions detrimental to the religion and the government of the king?

Furthermoré, if the king is unaware of the good and bad dealings of the people of the country, how will he be able to devise means for securing their prosperity? When to-morrow on the "Day of Judgment" in which we believe, and to which we testify, the king is questioned about the condition of every single individual among his subjects, how will he be able to give a reply, if he knows nothing about the activities, dealings, livelihood, right and wrong, prosperity, and misery of his subjects? And if he is asked something about the condition of his subjects before the throne of the <u>Supreme Judge</u>, and the king says: 'I do not know and I have no knowledge' this answer of the king will (never) be heard.[325]

A king ought to rule over only as much territory as he can be acquainted with.

Consequently, it is king's duty and obligation to appoint intelligencers (barids).

And if, O sons, an idle talker says to you, that the (holy) Quran has prohibited investigation and enquiry into the condition of the people, for it orders, "Do not investigate into sins"[326] ("ولا تجسّسو ولا تجسّسو اثما"), you should reply, that this prohibition only applies to the dealings of F.79b individuals in relation to each other; for individuals are neither under obligation nor are they responsible to each other, nor answerable, nor entitled to command nor bound to obedience. But kings will be questioned about the good and bad conduct of the people, about their justice and injustice, obedience and disobedience; he has to answer for the well-being or the distressed condition of each soul on the Day of Judgment. The mass of the people, under the sovereignty of the king, constitute the order of one household. And concerning this - that the master of every house will be questioned about the good and evil, welfare and disorder, obedience and disobedience of the household - the Prophet (peace be on him) has said: "All of you will be called, and all of you will be asked about your subjects". Similarly, the ruler will be asked about the good and evil actions, welfare and disorder, justice and injustice, obedience and disobedience of all the people of his kingdom. They will ask him about the virtues and vices of every subject, and

he will have to answer.

Rulership is not an easy task or a light responsibility. The ruler ought not to live in ignorance of the virtues and vices of the people. And just as the master of a house needs acquaintance with the conditions of life and the behaviour F.80a of both young and old in his house, similarly the king appoints auditors and honest and religious barids over his governors, revenue-collectors and officers. He investigates continuously into the condition of his subjects. He knows about the affairs of each, and takes into consideration the welfare of both parties.

And now that so many generations and ages have passed since the era of virtue and integrity, (i.e. the time of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs), and dishonesty, cheating, sin and iniquity, impiety, disloyalty, deceit, corruption, cruelty, injustice, ill-temper and ill-will have obtained a hold on most people, and jealousy and envy have become common and new practices have appeared and become established and customary in the religion, and the kingdom and the traditions of Mohammad have changed into innovations, the details and descriptions of which cannot be absorbed in books, how can rulers do without appointing honest barids, truthful reporters and reliable auditors of accounts? If they do not do so, the affairs of the world will be cast into disorder, and chaos and tumult will arise every day.

It has been related in the Tarikh-i-Sikandari,[327] that Alexander observed (the following) custom in his world-conquest. Whatever country, territory or region he conquered, he appointed the previous ruler as governor over that F.80b area, and installed him there with his (own hand).[328] He did not allow anyone from his army to remain in the conquered lands, lest the number of his soldiers should decrease. (But for) the maintenance of his own supreme command and royalty, he appointed barids from the chosen and reliable officers of his own country with full pomp and dignity over those rulers and zamindars in every land.

The office of a sovereign is indeed a very exalted office and rank in this world. The sons, brothers, near relations and other kith and kin of the holder of that office, tend to become intoxicated and blind. If they are convinced that the king is well established and know that every piece of news, whether good or bad is going to reach him, then these two things will awake them from their intoxication. This would not only benefit them, but the king also would not have to extirpate his own household for their evil doings and thereby convert his helpers and supporters into his enemies. The rulers being well-informed (of all matters) is of very great advantage to the governed, and his ignorance is extremely injurious to both parties. The object[329] (of religious kings) in the appointment of barids is, that if any disturbance F.81a

by way of revolt or sedition occurs or is going to arise in the capital and its provinces, information about its strength, unity and the intrigues which have led to it, is conveyed to (royal) ears, and wise men discover the ways and tricks of the mischievous before they take to action. Whenever the news of this (proposed) tumult reaches the king through his barids and reporters, the king gets down to suppress it in such a way, that he does not have to dip his hand into Mussalman blood, as he would be obliged to do after a rebellion has actually occurred. In the infliction of different punishments[330] - Siyasat, Hudud and Tazir, there is a difference between mere intention and action. There is one punishment for conspiracy and incitement of rebellion and another punishment for actually giving effect to treasonable designs in practice. Besides, if the conspirators know that no fact can remain secret from the king, it will often happen that they become frightened and abstain from holding their (conspiratorial) meetings. Though evil intentions may be in their hearts, they will not express them, and will not venture to join hands with each other and conspire. This knowledge is good for both parties.

The object[331]....of religious kings in the appointment of news-writers is this. Almighty God has made His creatures of varied temperaments and different characters. He has F.81b created some good and some bad, and some a mixture of both

good and evil; such that some obey and some disobey and while some both obey as well as disobey. Some are of peaceful disposition, while others are contumacious. Whenever the king is acquainted with the good and bad, as well as the virtues and the vices of the people of his kingdom, it will always be the demand of his religious piety, and the duty of satisfying claims to reward the virtuous and the meritorious in numerous ways, so that the virtuous strive more in the path of virtue, while others follow into their footsteps and develop their virtues. The contumacious are to be prohibited and warned against persisting in evil, so that they lessen their evil and give it up (altogether), and others do not follow the same path. This policy bears the fruits of rewarding <u>merit</u>, and leads to the welfare of both the ruler and the ruled.

O sons and kings of Islam, you are to know that the leading historians hold a unanimous opinion, that most of the countries and regions which have been illuminated with the light of Islam, were conquered during the Caliphate of Umar. And the Commander of the Faithful, Umar, because of his very great honesty and good intentions, in such an age and such a F.82a time, when honesty, faithful dealings, piety, fulfilment of promises, truthfulness, honest living, justice, equity, good behaviour and good will were (to be found) generally among the

Companions and the leading *Tabi'in* (found it necessary to appoint barids).[333] So it is necessary and incumbent upon all kings to appoint barids, auditors of accounts and reporters for the running of the government. Ignorance of the virtues and vices of the officers and the subjects is detrimental in this world and the next.

O sons, you should know that in the appointment of barids, auditors of accounts and reporters, religious kings have had good and virtuous intentions and objects in mind. The first object of kings in the appointment of barids is this, that when it becomes clear to the officers, qazis, governors and revenue-collectors both remote and near, that their good and bad actions are to be brought to light, they do not oppress and behave ruthlessly ~~behave~~ towards the subjects or accept bribes and resort to partiality and kindness. They do not depart from righteousness and engage in sin and iniquity. With reference to their personal affairs they are always fearful, trembling, painstaking. Due to this consciousness on their part, they remain safe from the Real Ruler, as well as the earthly ruler. When the subjects are convinced that the F.82b good and bad actions of the nobles and the commons are reported to the king, and that office-holders have been appointed for this purpose, they will behave like good subjects. They will not revolt; behave insolently; overpower each other, and oppress and tyrannise over the weak. The (advantage) of

being informed about the revenue-collectors and accountants is that when they know that (reports) will be brought to the king, they will not steal or misappropriate, and they will remain secure from the king, and will not be disgraced and humiliated. The advantage of being informed about sons, brothers, other kith and kin and courtiers is, that they will not dare to go a step forward beyond the bounds of justice in their dealings with their friends and strangers, slaves and servants on account of their being the kindred and relations of the king.

In order that the reports of the good and bad actions of the neighbouring kings and their subjects might reach Alexander in quick succession, and (subordinate) kings and governors may know of his being well-informed, so that trembling and frightened they may treat their subjects with justice and equity without being guilty of rebellion or disobedience or stepping beyond his orders, Alexander appointed couriers, fast runners, and footmen on the roads in all F.83a towns and villages in all his four directions, and all around the world. He gave them dromedaries and much other equipment and ordered trained dromedaries, fast running camels and elegant and saddled Iraqi horses to be stationed at all inhabited places along the roads, so that from some places every week and other places every fortnight or every (month)[334] reports written by the barids may reach him, and his orders

may be conveyed to the (vassal) rulers and governors of territories. A great (contributory) factor in the government and administration (of Alexander) was his appointment of barids and his organisation of couriers and running footmen. It was advantageous to both parties and hence he could subjugate the inhabited world. And great kings have said: "Ruling and (yet) remaining in a state of ignorance is like striking one's fist in the dark. It is improper to call an ignorant person a king, for <u>ignorance and kingship are incompatible</u>".

O sons of Mahmud and kings of the earth, you will come to know that what arrangements Mahmud made for the posting of barids, auditors of accounts and reporters in the countries of Ghaznin, Khwarazm, Mawaraun Nahr, Khurasan and Sistan. F.83b To ensure the prestige of the functions of barids,[335] handsome salaries and gifts were fixed for them (according) to the country, territory, region and area (under their charge). Many reliable and leading men of Mahmud's court accepted the posts of barids in the provinces. They undertook the responsibility of giving accurate and correct reports and appointed their near ones to this office.

In the appointment of barids, religious kings have observed many conditions. The observation of an indispensable condition is the examination of the qualities of a barid. He ought to be truthful in speech, truthful in writing, honest,

well-born, worthy of confidence, dignified, and in his living unsociable and reserved in his conversation, so that the object of (baridship)[336], which is the reporting of accurate information for the royal conduct of affairs may be attained, and on receiving which the king undertakes the execution of business, which conduces to his own salvation and to the advantage of the people.

If the barid is a thief, a dishonest man, humble born, ignoble, a frequenter of every place and a caller at every door (بی دری), corrupt, greedy, covetous and reckless, then the object and intentions of the king and his efforts for the well-being of the subjects will be reversed. For the dishonest and the humble-born man, who is a master of intrigue and wire-pulling, weaves a web of lies, which look like F.84a truth. Through his confirmation of false information, affairs are cast into disorder. Where benefits need be rendered, injuries are inflicted and vice versa. The person deserving punishment is favoured and the man worthy of favours is chastised. The dishonest man, because of his greed, covetousness, bad character, (wicked) personality, natural dispositions, and the attributes of his vileness keeps God's creatures, day and night in constant fear (in the basin of fear); tortures one man to offer him a horse, from another he expects a slave-girl, while from a third he demands gold. He makes the selling of lies the source of his livelihood,

and resorts to enmity, revenge, hostility and malevolence. For some time in order to establish his reputation, he writes a few absolutely accurate reports, and discharges efficiently the obligations of his office. But after having obtained a repute for honesty, these lying, low-born, mean and Godless people plunder the houses of men, exact money from the people through various devices, and injure and oppress them under various pretexts. They make the king the enemy of the people and the people the enemies of the king. The appointment of such persons (as barids) leads to the overthrow of God's F.84b creatures and not to the prosperity of the subjects.

Nevertheless, kings in the appointment of barids, auditors of accounts and reporters, ought to (inquire)[337] into the matter of birth. That is, they should appoint persons the majority of whom (in their dispositions)[338] are of good character, noble and truthful in their words and deeds. These persons will not have turned their backs on the desires of this world, (but) neither in their desire for worldly offices will they have turned aside their faces from God. For if the king seldom finds the true qualities of merit in seekers after worldly posts and offices, still if estimated relatively and in proportion, he will find more virtue in that (particular) man, who is reputed for his virtue. In those, who are notorious for their evil, virtue will be less observed. Consequently, he who displays virtue more frequently, and has (in

addition) the reputation of being virtuous, ought to be appointed to delicate duties and high office and reliance ought to be placed in him, so that the work (of the government) may not suffer. If the true qualities of merit are expected in all servants of the Court, posts will remain vacant, for such persons do not touch worldly offices with their hands, and will not undertake any worldly duty. The excellence of their meritorious qualities does not allow these praiseworthy men to come near the world or to accept government posts. To you and all kings of the earth, in fact to the world at large and its people, this fact should be known with F.85a certainty.

Those who undertook worldly duties and responsibilities in the cause of the Faith and for the sake of the Faith, they were the Companions of the[339] (Prophet, peace be on him). This (work) has come to an end with them. Thereafter no-one has had the courage to make himself like them, or one of their type, with reference to their duties and their endeavours (jihad) or their perfection in religion, truthfulness and true faith.

And you, O sons and O kings of the earth, when for the first time you appoint barids for your transitory kingdoms, you ought to follow the regulation of Mahmud, so that nothing but correct and accurate information may reach you. And this will be advantageous both to you and your subjects. That

regulation of Mahmud for the appointment of barids is this. Mahmud ordered Ahmad Hasan Maimandi to fix the rank, status, gifts, salaries, stipends, (clothes)[340], soldiers and servants for the offices of barids according to the status of every country, realm, province, territory, city and town. He (Ahmad) was to strive in this work, discarding all thoughts of over-expenditure or economy, and to prepare a list (of barids) for all the provinces of the kingdom.

Below the list he was to write a few lines in his own handwriting to this effect:- "The rank, status, salaries, stipends, gifts, soldiers and servants, as indicated in F.85b this list, shall be allowed and guaranteed to every barid, who writes truthfully and speaks truthfully, who does not report falsehood, who does not squeeze anything, great and small, from the people, and who does not show greed and covetousness in such a responsible office on which the welfare of the king and his subjects depends. But if any barid shows greediness or resorts to dishonesty in such a business on which the prosperity and welfare of both the ruler and the (ruled)[341] depend, or (sells)[342] his reports, or realizes money from the people, or tortures them and thereby gains his object, or writes reports and sends them (first) to the great men, commanders and officers, or writes lies which look like truth, and thereby keeps people tormented, then, if the king comes to know anything about these matters, his (barid's) blood

should be shed in the (open) market, his belongings and property be destroyed, and his wife, children, family and followers be driven out of the kingdom and sent to distant realms. And by God the Glorified, just as Mahmud was generous in giving salaries and stipends and without any previous service or claim, he began to show a man favour in the same way he showed oppression, and showed it immensely, as you shall know".

When Ahmad brought the list of the proposed salaries F.86a and other allowances of the barids of the whole empire to Mahmud, Mahmud said to him: "Summon to the Court everyone from the capital of Ghaznin, whom you consider worthy of the office of barid, and whose good and bad you know. Assemble them; make a list of them; appoint each one of them to the post of baridship, and hand over this list with the said contents to them. Keep those who accept baridship on this condition separately from those who do not accept it. From those who accept, take official bond in their own handwriting and have it attested by those Shaikhs and distinguished and well-known men, who may then be present at the Court. Summon both the groups before the throne, i.e. those who have accepted these appointments and signed the bond, and those who have declined because of the delicate conditions".

Ahmad Hasan did so on the following day, and presented

before the throne two hundred persons, (including those) who had accepted the appointments and signed bonds (and those who had declined). When Mahmud cast his glance at the assembled people, he observed that one hundred and thirty men had signed the bonds and agreed to Mahmud's conditions, and accepted the office of baridship, while seventy persons had declined to accept these appointments from fear of the conditions.

Mahmud ordered the bonds of those who had accepted F.86b appointments to be torn to pieces and handed back to them. They were to be dismissed with apologies and told: "I will not assign this office to you". Mahmud then summoned those who had declined from fear of the conditions and appointed each of them to the posts of barid, just as Ahmad Hasan had proposed. In accordance with the position of every barid, they were given the rank, gifts and other benefits, as specified in Ahmad Hasan's list. Mahmud showed favours to them and despatched them to their posts. As the covetous and the greedy had not, because of their covetousness and greed, paid attention to the onerous and delicate conditions, while the fearful, the less greedy and the farsighted had been scared and kept their hands aloof from these offices, their advantages and cash salary, the work and the task of barids ran smoothly. In general, the above-mentioned fearful (barids) reported everything that was true and accurate; they did not extract

anything from the people, and did not resort to corruption and favouritism. The object which Mahmud desired for with (good intentions)[343], that he should confer the posts of barids upon truthful and reliable men, was thus achieved.[344]

No better design than this for the examination and selection of revenue-collectors and office-holders struck Mahmud's mind. Thus every king who adopts this rule for the selection of office-holders will attain to his end in view. But this rule should only be tried once. If they try to F.87a repeat this several times, people will catch it, and all of them will resort to the path of rejection, and the distinction between the honest and the corrupt, the forward and the fearful will not be visible.

With reference to this Advice, an account of the Caliph Mamun's dismissal of his barids and auditors of accounts, and thus becoming helpless seems appropriate here.

<u>Anecdote Illustrating the above Nasihat.</u>

It is related in the <u>Tarikh-i-Khulafa-i-Abbasi</u>,[345] that the Commander of the Faithful, Mamun, was the most learned scholar of his age. No Abbasid Caliph was like him in learning and clemency. When he went to the capital of Merv in the province of Khorasan, he conferred wizarat upon Sahl (bin) Fazl. This Fazl had no parallel in the art of wizarat, in knowledge of affairs and in excellency of judgment and policy. Through the justice and beneficence of the Commander of the Faithful and

the judgment and foresight of Fazl (bin) Sahl, the prosperity and affluence of the kingdom of Merv became proverbial in other countries. People of all kinds left the kingdom of Baghdad (for Merv).

After some years, when the affairs of the country had been firmly established in accordance with the precepts of knowledge and prudence, the desire to adopt the mode of life and the traditions of the Orthodox Caliphs appeared in the mind of the Commander of the Faithful Mamun. He adopted the modes and ways of piety, and removed the grandeur, pomp and court-etiquette through which preceding Caliphs had established the (dignity)[346] and prestige of Kingship. Putting on coarse and rough clothes, he began to observe continuous fasting. F.87b He abandoned the pomp of royalty, and started imparting lessons to (pupils)[347] on the Hadis like a religious scholar. He began to associate and dwell with religious mendicants and pious men, and kept his hands aloof from all comforts, luxury, delicious food and royal etiquette. He desisted from (the use of) the customary practices appertaining to royal dignity, and dismissing all the barids and officers of the empire, he assigned the governorships of provinces and territories to religious scholars, pious men, (saints)[348], and upright men and recluses. He eliminated at one stroke the awe and fear of the capital of the kingdom.

Fazl (bin) Sahl, in every possible way in public and in

private, represented to Mamun as follows in mild, smooth, open, indirect and varied language:-

"Rulership is not possible without the ways, traditions, dignity and prestige of kings, and no one has been able to accomplish this. And during that one generation, when the Orthodox Caliphs in spite of their life of piety and poverty, exercised the powers of Caliphs and the world became subject to them, this was due to their nearness to the times of Mustafa and the result of his miracles. From the period of Adam until the end of the world, this one generation will be regarded as a wonder among all earlier and later epochs and times. The dealings of these Caliphs, great and small, F.88a were in accordance with the Sunnah of Mustafa. But if (later) Caliphs and kings wish to follow (the Sunnah) they will not be able to maintain their Caliphate or rule for a day even.

"Nevertheless, these four (Orthodox Caliphs), who from fear of opposing the Sunnah did not adopt the laws and customs of the kings, ended by sacrificing themselves in following the Sunnah of the Prophet. Umar, Usman and Ali were martyred by reckless devotees (فدائیان). Apart from them conducting the business of government, while living such a life of simplicity and poverty and sacrificing themselves in order to follow the Prophet's traditions of living, has not been possible for anyone among the Caliphs and kings of Islam - and it cannot be possible for anyone to do so, for the world is full of men

with the character of demons and the habits of lions, carnivorous animals and cunning persons. Without the terror and prestige of powerful and dignified Sultans, command and control over them cannot be established.

It may be probable (sahl) that there may be in the entire world a few men whom wisdom and reason guide, whose eyes are fixed on the ultimate consequences of actions, and on whose hearts the affairs of the reckoning of the Day of Judgment and the fear of the getting together and coming to life of the dead, are inscribed as a conviction, and who can be the F.88b officers of a righteous Caliph.[349] Their present lordship and power are (not)[350] the object of their inner and outer selves, and desire for the world is not their end in view. Moreover, the helpers and supporters of the Orthodox Caliphs were the noble Companions (of the Prophet), who through the radiance of their convictions and self desire sacrificed their lives, wealth, wives, children, property and belongings in the path of the Lord. Through their association, friendship and company with "the Chosen One of the most exalted Lord" and witnessing the Divine Inspiration, they turned such (frantic) lovers of God and His Prophet, that the whole world was to them not worth a farthing. In order to secure the supremacy of the True Word, they threw themselves into burning fire, and did not sleep during the nights due to their desire for martyrdom. All the Muhajirs and Ansars were men of miracles and (religious) vision.

Because of such helpers and supporters the Orthodox Caliphs were able to attain to the gate of kingship while living on the pattern of paupers.

"But now, when the Caliphate has come to the Commander of the Faithful, (Mamun), two hundred years have passed since that period; true belief in the Faith and firm trust in the Orthodox creed is left only in a very limited number of individuals; the appearance and character of Islam have considerably changed; the world has reverted back to the followers of (pre-Islamic) traditions, and they all seek this world only. Before the prophethood (of Mohammad), the F.89a mind and thought of the sons of Adam were devoted to this world only, and the same thing has again come to appear. And at no cost the Sovereignty and the authority (masnad) of the Caliphate will be established and become firm without the terror, prestige, pomp and power of kingship and its rules and regulations,[351] (which) subdue the disobedient, and reduce the rebellious to submission, and the strong-necked to impotence. Kingship, government and conquests are incompatible with a life of privation and poverty. Without the pomp and dignity of kingship, one man will subdue another, the obedient will turn all rebellious, the prestige of sovereignty will vanish; and order and government will bear no fruit. No-one will be afraid of the governors and Muqtis, whom the Commander of the Faithful has appointed; they will become powerless

without authority, every day revolts and tumults will spring up, and tyranny and oppression will appear. And until the power and the dignity of the Kisras and the pomp and magnificence of Jamshed are ~~not~~ employed, the seventy-two creeds cannot be subjugated and brought within the yoke of obedience. Without the appointment of barids and auditors of accounts, the string of administration will be let loose; everyone while sitting in his house will lodge claim to command and authority; (private) property will be plundered and no account of good or evil will reach the ears of the Commander of the Faithful. "Such an Islam and such Mussalmans are left no more, that one can govern them on the pattern of Abu Bakr and Omar". F.89b

The Commander of the Faithful (Mamun) was so enamoured of the virtues and good deeds of the Orthodox Caliph, that the precepts and the advice of the incomparable wazir were not acceptable to him. He did not lend them his ears of favour, and proceeded according to his own opinion and individual decision.

When a year had passed in this way, all fear and awe of 352 the authority of government (disappeared) from amongst men; insolence and malpractices appeared; the gates of virtue closed; the doors of evil opened, and tumults and contentions appeared in all sides. The religious men, feeble (in power) were

incapable of conducting the affairs of government and the administration of the kingdom; none of the wealthy men and zamindars paid heed to them; the kharaj and the jizya decreased; the army was all dispersed for lack of means; the oppressors and the powerful fell upon the belongings of the people; and the molestors and opponents of the Faith, who had been craving for such a day, came openly into the cities of the Mussalmans, and the territories of the (Sunnis)[353] and took to molesting the people. The kingdom of Merv F.90a fell into disorder and chaos, because of the ignorance, wayward ways and the reputed weakness of the Commander of the Faithful and the confusion of the army. As to the execution of orders, it came to such a pass, that even the personal servants and slaves of the Commander of the Faithful gave up obeying him, while the commanders desired to join hands with the Commander of the Faithful in renouncing the world and dwelling in solitude. The disobedient and the rebellious became bent upon how to cause injury to the capital of the Commander of the Faithful.

When the Commander of the Faithful witnessed the distressing condition of the kingdom, and heard from the neighbouring sides that the stability of governmental affairs had changed into disorder, and that a general state of anarchy had arisen, he withdrew from his resolve. He completely abandoned the path of (piety)[354] and seclusion, he had adopted,

resumed the task of government once all over again, and adopted the path of kingship. He made his wazir independent in the affairs of government; the incomparable wazir acted according to his knowledge of administration and adorned the capital once again with dignity, prestige, pomp and magnificence. He assigned the provinces and territories to men who possessed strength, awe and majesty. In all the important places of the empire, he appointed two or three auditors of accounts, and barids. He made such arrangements that the news of the good and bad of the people reached F.90b him continuously; he rubbed the ears of the (disobedient)[355] and the reckless and (drove away)[356] several mischief makers. The fear and awe of the capital of the Caliphate were inscribed on the hearts of the commons and the nobles more effectively than before. The army received its salary; the kingdom regained its strength with (increasing excellence)[357], the hearts (of the people) became free from tumult and distraction, and truth was established at the capital. As reports arrived from (all) the various sides, the ill-management in the provinces was remedied. Thereafter, the appointment of barids and auditors of Accounts was considered as one of the indispensable obligations and duties (of government)[358].

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Nasihat No. IX F.90b

On the Advantages of the King's Efforts towards Cheapening the prices of Commodities concerning the Requisites of the Army and the Livelihood of the General Public.

Sultan Mahmud said: O sons of Mahmud and Kings of Islam, you should know for certain that the schemes and the important affairs of Monarchy are intertwined. Just as the army does not become loyal and remain loyal without wealth, similarly it does not remain loyal without the low prices of its requirements. And just as without the cheapness of its requisities the army does not remain loyal, in the same way without the low prices of the means of livelihood, prosperity, splendour and loyalty do not appear among the subjects and a dense F.91a population and general prosperity do not arise. The royal realm does not become desirous of the (tranquility)[360] of mankind; The Royal Gate and the Court (do not become)[361] the centre (of the hopes) of the people. Unless the royal court becomes the centre of people's requirements, the prestige and majesty of kingship will not be fostered in the hearts of those far and near. All the nobles and the commons are agreed, that if the inhabitants and the subjects of the kingdom are driven to destitution due to high prices of the necessities of life, and all or a goodly number of them are confronted with disaster and death, they will forsake their beloved homeland and their

ancestral homes, and migrate to countries where the means of livelihood are cheap and easily available.

So in the light of the above premises it is incumbent and obligatory upon kings to strive hard and put forth their entire efforts for the cheapening of the prices of the requisites of the army, such as horses and arms, and the prices of (grain)[362] and cloth, which affect the livelihood of the nobles and the commons of the kingdom. They should consider the stability of their kingdom to be dependent upon the stability of both the army and the people, and this in turn to be (resting)[363] on the low prices of the means of livelihood. During the times of famine, which is a heavenly calamity, no rain falls and there follows a terrible F.91b disaster in agriculture and grain, and the hand of the ruler is unable to eliminate it. In such a state the ruler cannot set his hand to anything save the remission or cancellation of the <u>kharaj</u> and the <u>jizya</u> and granting such help as he can from the treasury. The king's efforts cannot reduce prices, and he is therefore excused. But during the periods of rich harvesting, when the rains came as a blessing, and crops, fruits and cultivated fields and gardens prosper in growing abundance, the merchants and the dealers nevertheless get into the habit of selling at extortionate prices. As a result of gigantic profits obtained through charging high prices, all wealthy people take to trade and regrating. It is then the

first and the foremost duty of kings from the viewpoint of government and administration to try to control prices by whatever means they can, and to strive violently for the reduction of prices. They should not leave the extortionate dealers, who develop an evil character and make selling at extortionate prices the principal aim of their lives, to themselves.

The king should fix in his own court the prices of all F.92a commodities on the basis of the <u>cost of production</u> (حکم برآورد). Barids, officers and honest and strict judges should extend stability to the system of buying and selling, and they should be very strict in their inquiries and investigations into them. The low prices of grain, cloth, and other commodities should not be considered an easy or a trifling matter in the domain of governmental and administrative affairs. Kings should regard the cheapening of prices of the means of general livelihood to be the corner-stone of the administration of their kingdom and the dispensation of justice. They should issue royal orders to the agents of grain markets and the superintendents and <u>kotwals</u> of the cities, never and under no circumstances, to permit regrating in the capital. They should set fire to the grain of the regraters for the Prophet (peace be on him) did so. Any person who resorts to regrating and takes to it as a habit and profession, he makes himself an obstacle to the daily bread of God's creatures, and limits the

blessings of prosperity upon them. If he does not refrain from regrating at the order of the ruler, and still continues to do so as his trade and profession, he is to be punished by confiscation of his property and exile as a warning and a lesson to others.

The officers are to be ordered to keep the shop-keepers in subjection and not to leave the fixing of prices to their discretion. They are to strive their hardest for the fixing of prices and instituting inquiries into the transactions of buying and selling. They should not err in such an important matter, the advantage and the disadvantage of which F.92b affect both the nobles and the commons, nor may they be engaged in the satisfaction of their self greed. They should not treat the question of price control as a trifle, and they should go to the help of buyers and sellers, who happen to be simple, immature, village-born, helpless and feeble. They should enforce justice in buying and selling in markets and punish cheats,[364] (swindlers), advertisers of false goods and vendors of false goods by various humiliations. They should not, under the pretence of submission and helplessness, allow shopkeepers, grocers, artisans and other impudent people to sit in shops in a submissive guise in order to oppress the helpless, the shy, young and the ignorant; to resort to strange ways of dealing, knavery, rough-handling, impudence and shamelessness; or to give their glass beads the name of

diamonds, and to sell them at the price of diamonds, and call the diamonds of diamond sellers mere straw, and purchase them at the price of straw.

If a king, in spite of his authority and power to enforce his orders, approves of such a gross fraud being done to the helpless, the poor, the infirm, the distressed, the young and the ignorant, by knaves, rogues, shop-keepers and F.93a shameless and godless people, and if he makes no inquiries and investigations, and does not enforce universal justice in the dealings of the seventy-two creeds, then he cannot be called 'the Shadow of God' or be considered a legitimate ruler.

The kings are also to know that every plan which a king introduces in the transactions of buying and selling and fixing of prices in his capital, it will also be imitated in all his provinces. The officers and the subjects of his realm all imitate and follow it.

O Sons of Mahmud know that in the cheapness of the requisites of the army and the commodities of the general livelihood, there are a number of religious and worldly advantages conducive to the well-being of both the ruler and the ruled.

The First advantage is this, that in every country and every realm where grain, cloth and other means of livelihood, as well as horses and the requisites of the army are cheap and easily obtainable, the army, which is the pivot of the

government of kings and the protector and (guardian)[365] of the subjects, is soon made loyal and remains so. This advantage benefits the king, the soldiers and the subjects alike.

The second advantage of the cheapening of prices is this, that due to the cheapness and availability of commodities, the capital of the king becomes the metropolis of the world on account of the flocking together of an immense number of (skilled)[366] and trained men of every art and craft. This advantage benefiting both the ruler and the ruled, is not (concealed)[367] from the scholars and the wise either. F.93b

The third advantage of cheapness is this, that when the opponents, the rivals and the equals of the king hear of the grandeur, strength and constancy of his army, the comfort and the happiness of his subjects and the affluence and prosperity of the inhabitants of his realm, the evil desire of over-powering his realm will be eradicated from their hearts, and will be replaced by awe and fear. This is also an advantage which benefits both the ruler and the ruled.

The (fourth)[368] advantage of cheapness is this, that the low prices of the people's necessities bring a good name to the king, which remains current on the lips of the people for years and generations. Due to fall in the prices of grain and other commodities, animosity and jealousy are alleviated from amongst the people and good-will is established. Prosperity, felicity and good-will appear in every direction. On the

other hand if, as a result of the high prices of commodities and regrating, a limited number of homes belonging to the dishonest become full, thousands upon thousands of homes belonging to the buyers are reduced to poverty and indigence; animosity towards regraters and extortioners develops in F.94a the heart of the people, and the desire for vengeance matures.

The fifth advantage of cheapness for the royal treasury, which is the Baitul Mal of all the Mussalmans is this, that if grain and other commodities become expensive, a good deal of money has to be expended on the work of government, and this leads to depletion of the treasury. Under such a state of affairs, the position of the ruler and the ruled is reversed. (Normally) the treasury is replete with the wealth of the subjects, but when grain and other commodities are expensive, the wealth of the treasury goes to the houses of the subjects. There are then no limits or bounds to governmental expenditure, for in one establishment e.g. a stable, fodder has to be supplied for so many thousand horses. This injury mostly affects the capital; but (later) it spreads over the whole country.

The sixth advantage of cheapness which concerns both the ruler and the ruled, is this, that the supreme object of kingship is the enforcement of justice and equity. But whenever in the capital of the kingdom, which ought to be the mine of justice and equity, there is open and public injustice

in the commercial dealings of the people, and the king F.94b does not enforce orders for the improvement of conditions when the houses of regraters and extortionate dealers are full without any effort or hardship on their part with the wealth of the people, while the houses of others, who have obtained things with the sweat of their brow, are emptied without any incident or misfortune, and every day their distress and need increase, and the king, whose duty is to enforce justice, does not discharge his duty by fixing prices and warning and punishing regraters and extortionate dealers, who have made regrating and selling at high prices their permanent trade and occupation, then the affairs of the king fall into disorder. He is held responsible and punishable before God, and all this will be attributed to his negligence.

The seventh advantage of cheapness of the means of livelihood is this, that one of the objects of divine wisdom behind the appointment of kings is, that they, with the authority and dignity of their kingship, should "take from the rich and give to the poor."[369] Otherwise the poor cannot claim their rights to property from the rich by force. The regraters and sellers at high prices are none but the rich, and in the course of business the regraters, who sell at high prices, take from the poor and the destitute, the means of livelihood, which should reach them. All this under the open pretext of sale goes to their houses. The divine decree is (not)[370] F.95a

observed. There can be no higher benefit in the cheapening of prices than this - that the objects of divine wisdom becomes manifest among the nobles and the commons.

The <u>eighth advantage</u> of cheapness of grain and cloth is this, that regrating and selling at high prices is contagious sin. It is not one of the categories of sins against the self, for its injury affects others. Through royal orders and efforts, it can be eliminated from amongst the subjects. This benefit and its recompense are not concealed from the wise. Further, the oppression and unjust treatment of the subjects is a cause of the descending of heavenly calamities; but when honesty and justice are found in the transactions of the people affecting the operations of buying and selling, then calamities seldom descend from heaven. This advantage accruing from cheap prices redounds to the benefit of both the ruler and the ruled.

The <u>ninth advantage</u> which concerns the life of the ruler and the ruled is this, that regrating is the trade of Hindus and the Magians and the craft of infidels and idolaters in the kingdom. A man who calls himself a Mussalman, but adopts regrating as his profession and deprives the people of God of their livelihood by his cunning tricks, is (in fact) ignorant of the Faith, and also unaffected by the Faith. Through regrating, wealth goes from the houses of the Mussalmans F.95b honouring whom is in conformity with (the commands of) God

and His Prophet, to the houses of Hindus and Magians, the (plundering) of whose property, wives and children is permitted and lawful according to several (Muslim) sects. Those persons whose humiliation and degradation is a duty and an obligation of the Faith, are respected and held in esteem because of the wealth obtained from the Mussalmans, while the honoured and favoured ones of God became disgraced and distressed, because of their poverty and lack of means. If the king strives in the path of reducing the prices, those honoured by God will gain still greater honour (in society), and those whom God has disgraced and discredited, rendered contemptible and condemned, will become even more destitute and contemptible. This advantage of rulership is indeed a great advantage.

The tenth advantage of cheapness for the ruler and the ruled is this, that because of cheap prices of grain and other means of livelihood, every group, class, clan and community among the subjects of the kingdom devotes itself to its own particular craft, art and industry. One of the chief factors constituting stability in the affairs of government is, that as everyone devotes himself to his own art and industry, so administration and organisation improve. Whenever considerable profit is witnessed in regrating and extortionate selling, and not much profit is obtained through other trades and professions, the people by their very F.96a nature, instinctively desert their respective professions.

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Soldiers take (to) agriculture; cultivators seeing huge profit in trade, take to it; regraters, because of the power of their wealth, extend their hands to high posts; shopkeepers try to become officers; men of noble birth become caravan merchants; and caravan merchants seek for governorships and commanderships of the army. The affairs do not remain stable. But no (such) disorder or chaos appears among the subjects of the country, when there is cheapness. The numerous benefits of cheap prices are visible to both the nobles and the commons.

Those who have no knowledge and experience of the real nature of kingship and dominion say, that kings ought not to strive for price-control and price fixing, for low prices are related to abundance, and the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) has said: "God is forgiving".

This contention, on the face of it, seems true and correct. But this is a changing world, and because of the rotation of the variegated Sky, in every epoch, period, time and generation, the sons of Adam are by nature born with different temperaments and manners. In these later times and generations which draw nearer and nearer to the Day of Judgment, and recede farther from the good days of the Prophet and his Companions, the great virtue is being transformed into great vice; love of this world is gaining victory over the breasts of all excepting whom God has willed otherwise, and the lower F.96b

self and Satan are obtaining ascendancy over the mass of mankind. [373] So (in spite) of continuous rainfall and plenitude of fruits and rich crops, the greed and temptation for high prices of grain and cloth overcome them, and they do not give up regrating and extortionate selling. They are neither frightened of God, nor of the king. The rich sell grain and cloth to the poor and the needy on the prices they like, and they do not abandon their side of regrating and extortionate selling by any means. And if the ruler, who has been appointed for the correction of people, does not institute inquiries and investigations; does not try to control prices and fix rates; does not enforce justice in the transactions of buying and selling among the people by warnings and punishments, and does not use his power for the elimination of injustice from amongst his people, what will be his answer on the Day of Judgment, and how will his excuses for his negligence be heard?

The sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam ought to know that the efforts of kings in price control are of two kinds:-

The first kind is this, that the kings should be so particular in dispensing justice and equity, that in so doing they do not show any favour to their own kith and kin or to strangers in any case or circumstances. And so far as justice is concerned, they look at the nobles and the commons with the same eye, so that the effect of their exuberent efforts

in dispensing justice permeates all the inhabitants of F.97a their kingdom, and they take to the path of justice. The merchants give up selling at high prices, the regraters desist from regrating, and the shopkeepers abandon deceiving and swindling the people and deal justly with them. The subjects of their kingdom have first dealings with each other. It is a long time since it was uttered: "People follow the religion of their rulers"[374]. By their very nature the subjects accept the path for which they find their ruler and their sovereign to be striving and endeavouring.

The second kind of the king's endeavour for the control of prices is this, that if the king sees that in spite of the blessings of rainfall, the richness of the crop, the growth of vegetation and the advent of plenty, traders and caravan merchants do not cease selling at extortionate prices; regraters do not refrain from regrating, and shopkeepers and grocers, while sitting in their shops from morning until night, cheat both the wise and the simple buyers, and having become the masters of their own prices, sell their goods in whatever way it pleases them, having no shame of God and no fear of the ruler, then under these circumstances it becomes necessary and indispensable on the part of the king that, in the interests of the nobles and the commons of his realm F.97b he eliminate such injustice from amongst the people. And with reference to grain, cloth and other commodities, which

the public needs day and night, he fixes prices according to cost of production. He should stabilise the prices he has fixed through harsh-tempered officers and stern superintendents (Shahna). The Shahnas of grain markets and the kotwals of the capital, should be directed to prevent the regraters of the capital from regrating through prohibitions and penalties. They should in no case and under no pretext allow a man to regrate even ten monds of grain in the capital. Regrating and selling at high prices should be suppressed in the capital through very great efforts; they should bring the unjust to the path of justice by severity and (reprimand)[375], and the people should not be left to themselves in the matter of buying and selling. And whenever in the matter of buying and selling justice appears in the capital, it will also be visible in purchases and sales throughout the provinces of the kingdom. In this matter, because of the investigations and efforts of the kings, the benefit accrues to the public at large, and there does not arise any injury to the kingdom, and the (Faith)[376]. Soldiers, who are the protectors of the Faith, and the kingdom become loyal, and prosperity dawns among other groups. But kings, while attending to the affairs of the government F.98a ought to be vigilant enough, so that they do nothing which necessitates opposition to the Tenets of the Faith.

Let it be known for certain to the sons of Mahmud and, in fact, to all the kings of the earth, that Mahmud has taken[377]

good care about that serving the cause of religion is what Mohammad, son of Abdullah Quraishi, has done. Consequently, whoever follows his guidance and leadership in his mode of life and livelihood, words and actions, is said to be religious and obtains good fortune and merit of the Faith. Government and (kingship)[378] (on the contrary) are and have been, what Khusrau Parwes and his ancestors practised in Ajam. And whoever follows their customs and precedents and their mode and manner of life will be able to attain to kingship and government. The people will be obedient to him, and his orders will be effective throughout the world.

Between the Traditions of Mohammad, and his mode of life, and the traditions of the Khusraus and their mode of life, there is a complete contradiction and total opposition.

When in the generation of the Companions the countries of Ajam and Syria were conquered, Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali became kings, rulers and (monarchs)[379]. Due to the perfection of their religion, they risked their lives and did not waver even by a needle-point from Mohammad's mode of life and living and his traditions of piety, poverty, and dealings. They did not adopt the customs and traditions of the Khusraus, F.98b which are necessary for government and kingship. And, as a miracle of the Prophet, they alone have been able in all early and later generations, to combine <u>saintship</u> with <u>Jamshedi</u>.[380] They governed the world while wearing (torn)[381] cloaks, poor and

starving. Nevertheless Umar, Usman and Ali were martyred by the 'Devotees' and intrepid.

After them, the Caliphs and kings of Islam were faced with two contradictory things, (both) indispensable for the Faith and the kingdom. If they followed the Sunnah of Mohammad and his mode of life and living, kingship and government would be impossible for them. Claiming to be kings, and yet living the life of an ascetic, they would not remain alive. And 'command' which was the backbone of government would not find enforcement among the people either to a large or small extent.
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If in their mode of life, diet and (dress) they followed the traditions and customs of the Khusraus, which broke the neck of the headstrong, subdued the rebellious and were indispensable for the execution of government orders, it would be necessary to violate the Sunnah of Mohammad, which were the essence and the sun and head of the Faith.

In the person of kings and their Companions, no Sunnah can be practicable, because Prophethood is the zenith of religiousness and kingship is the highest pinnacle of earthly power. These two perfections are inimical and contradictory to each other, and yoking them together is not within the F.99a bounds of possibility.

For devotion is an indispensable requisite of religion; and the necessary conditions of devotion are humility, helplessness, poverty, self-abasement, self-abnegation, neediness,

lamentation and (longing).[383] And the requisites of kingship, which is the perfection of earthly power, are power, pride, singularity of status, luxurious living, boasting, lack of reverence, grandeur and prestige. The qualities mentioned here are among the attributes of God. Kingship is the deputyship and vice-gerency of God. Kingship is not possible by adhering to the qualities of devotion.

Consequently, it became essential for the Caliphs and Sultans of Islam to adopt the customs of the Khusraus in order to ensure the elevation of the True Word, the domination of the Faith of Mohammad, the supremacy of Truth, the extirpation of the molesters and enemies of the Faith, the execution of the orders of religion and the maintenance of their own power.[384] They should make these unbelievers (the Khusraus), the foundation of their power and grandeur, so that they may utilise their authority and (dignity)[385] for the protection and promotion of the Faith; for ensuring the supremacy of the True Word by constant holy wars; for overthrowing kufr and shirk, and for elevating the prestige of Islam by (killing)[386] and slaughtering the enemies of the Faith.

The following of the iniquitous actions of the Khusraus is considered to be all forbidden and unlawful in the religion of Islam.

But just as the eating of carrion, though prohibited, is permissible in time of need, similarly the customs and

traditions of the Sultans of Ajam, e.g. the Crown, Throne, singularity of status, pride, aloofness, display of royal (etiquette), building high palaces, holding court, F.99b making people prostrate before (them),[387] collecting treasures, capture of property, adopting royal munificence, wearing (gold, jewels and silk)[388] and making others wear them, execution of people on grounds of the good of the kingdom and governmental policy, keeping large _harems_, spending unsparingly without any right,[389] (seizing) countries without any right of inheritance, and leaving it as an inheritance, and living according to all other ways, which are the outcome of (a king's) singularity of status, pride and power, without which a king is not deemed or called a king - should, from the view-point of truth and righteousness, be considered like the eating of carrion in case of need. It is necessary for religious kings to be afraid and regretful of these actions, forbidden by the Faith; to regard them the need of the hour; to ask for divine forgiveness during the night, weeping and lamenting; to know for certain, that all the customs and traditions of kingship are violations of the _Sunnah_ of the Prophet, and to consider themselves their followers and their servants to be afflicted by them.

And the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) F.100a following whose _Sunnah_ implies religious piety, never ate (meat)[390] after cutting it with a knife during the period of his

Prophethood. The Companions asked: "O Prophet of Allah! Is it prohibited to cut meat with a knife and then eat it?" "It is not prohibited", the Prophet (peace be on him) replied, "but it is one of the customs of the Sultans of Ajam and I, who have been sent in order that I may totally overthrow their customs and traditions, and forbid them completely in my creed, will not eat in the way and the manner in which they have eaten".

So, O sons of Mahmud, know and know well, that kingship is not possible without adopting the customs and traditions of the kings of Ajam. And it is known to all the Muslim theologians that these customs and traditions are contradictory to the Sunnah and the mode of life of Mohammad. Hence, how can any king who adopts the customs and traditions of the Sultans of Ajam for the prestige of his own dominion, and for his self-preservation, and uses these religiously (forbidden things)[391]; who does not employ his prestige, (grandeur)[392], power and authority for protecting and raising the Tenets of Islam; for elevating the True Word, and for maintaining the prestige of the orders for 'good' and the prohibition of the 'evil'; who does not devote himself day and night to the suppression of idolatry and infidelity, and the extirpation of the idolaters and unbelievers; who does not overthrow all innovators F.100b and innovations, and whose own personal involvement in innovations and the observance of necessary forbidden things

prevents him from prohibiting and punishing others; who does not uproot totally the molestors of the *Sharia*, and the enemies of the religion and kingdom of Mustafa (peace be on him); who does not make the seventy-two creeds obedient to the *Sharia*; who without any necessity tolerates the honour of a single unbeliever, idolater and innovator, and his cannons and religions in his realm; who does not use all his power of rulership for protecting the Orthodox Faith, and does not dedicate himself to *jihad* for the sake of God; who, in his desire for martyrdom, does not throw himself fearlessly in war and battle against the enemies of Allah and His Apostle; who does not rescue the oppressed and enforce justice, and who dees not create justice and righteousness in all the dealings of the Muslims, consider himself a Mussalman, can get himself called a Mussalman, and can rationally entertain the hope of salvation in the next world in his heart?

The object of Mahmud in the preceding argument advising the cheapening of the prices of commodities is (to show) that striving for price-control is conducive to the religious and worldly welfare of kings as well as to that of the nobles and the commons among their subjects. Their efforts in reducing prices are not only donducive to religious benefit F.101a but also contribute to the welfare of the kingdom, and they are not (contrary)[393] to any transaction among the great transactions of the kingdom. To strive and endeavour in this

important undertaking, and to bring to the path of equity those inspired by greed and (blinded) by the desire for[394] worldly gain by prohibitions and punishments, imply the highest stage of justice.

Moreover, it should be clear to the kings of Islam and the sons of Mahmud, that it is possible for a few and limited number of persons in the whole kingdom to tremble at the orders - "Allah has said": "the Prophet has said" and "the religious scholars have said": but the world and its inhabitants tremble only from fear of the king, his might and power, and his blood-shedding sword. Thus the Caliph, Umar, son of[395] Khattab, has said: "Those who fear the Sultan (are more) than those who fear the Quran".[396] For fear of the Quran is due to true religious convictions, and true religious convictions in these latter days are rare like red sulphur. Hence, if the king by his terror and power does not enforce justice and truthfulness in the dealings of the seventy-two communities, his power and authority will become vain. So, if sons of Mahmud seek the glory of the next world through the F.101b stability of their transitory kingdom, they should strive hard for the low prices of grain and other necessities of life, and eliminate from their kingdom regrating and (other) oppressions of merchants and shopkeepers in transactions of buying and selling.

With reference to this Nasihat, the accounts of the price-

control of Umar and of the regulations of kings of Ajam for securing low prices are worthy of credence.

Anecdote Illustrating the above Nasihat.

Mahmud has read in the Tarikh-i-Ma'asiri-Sahabah,[397] that when the throne of the Caliphate was honoured by the accession of the Commander of the Faithful, Umar Khattab, and the world came under the banner of Islam, and countries and provinces were conquered, Umar ordered about fifty thousand soldiers from the army of Islam with their wives and children to settle in the precincts of Medina at a place in the desert, where water and fodder for the horses were available, so that the prestige of Medina, which was the capital of the Faith and the kingdom of Mustafa, may be established in the minds of the general public and (the idea of) subduing it may not come to the heart of any rebel or traitor in this world. If any heir was left to the kingdoms which the army of Islam overthrew, and he raised his head and caused trouble and rebellion, a well-equipped army could be sent immediately against him from the metropolis of the Faith, and it F.102a would very soon be able to suppress the evil of his revolt. From fear of this ready and well-equipped army, the people of the subjugated countries sent the kharaj and jizya to Medina without any delay.

When the soldiers with their wives and children had settled within five to twenty karohs all round Medina, and a

large population gathered there, Umar ordered traders, merchants and pedlars to take grain, cloth (arms) and other requisites of the army to Medina from the neighbouring countries and to sell them at a just and fair price, so that the army which had been collected together might remain stable. As a result of Umar's justice there was a settlement of population within twenty four karohs of Medina, and elegance and free circulation (of money) appeared there. All that a man might need, whether precious or not, were to be found in Medina. The Commander of the Faithful ordered that no heinous fraud was to be permitted in buying and selling; justice was to be safeguarded; merchants and shopkeepers were not to exploit bedouins, minors and the ignorant, or vary from (official) rates. The brokers were to fix a fair price, and there was to be no adulteration of goods. By these arrangements and through these orders, the population was firmly settled there. The affairs of government and administration were F.102b so well-ordered, that no further improvement was possible. The awe of the people of Medina was inscribed in the hearts of all men, both in East and West. In Medina itself, there appeared such affluence and cheapness, that the inhabitants were at ease. No-one could be unjust in the matter of prices; no-one had the boldness to attempt regrating, and traders, pedlars, merchants and cattle-drivers, did not expect even a dang or a dirham (by dishonest means). The justice of Umar

obtained such fame, that people took the way to Medina from all quarters of the world. Due to the cheapness of the means of livelihood and the availability of the requisites, the army, which had been settled round Medina, became loyal and remained loyal for years. But after the termination of Umar's reign, fellow-feeling diminished and trouble appeared. The collected troops were despatched to different directions, and stationed there. Had this army remained loyal, would the mischief-makers have had the courage to cause any harm to the Commander of the Faithful, Usman? The object is to show, that the smooth working of all administrative arrangements depends upon cheap prices. Cheap prices though they descend from God, are dependent on the equity, justice, control and efforts of Caliphs and Sultans. God is the creator of milk and rice, but putting them in the pot, and cooking them is the task of man. F.103a

The regulations framed by wazirs of olden times for ensuring the cheap prices of grain, cloth, the requisites of the army and other commodities in the courts of the ancient kings of Ajam, as a result of which there was permanent cheapness in the kingdom for ages and generations to come and as a consequence of which the affairs of their realms were stabilised, are these. In a year of rich harvest, that is, in a year of plenty, two-thirds of the demands of the government, i.e. kharaj, jizya, ushr and other payments and

customary dues of the kingdom were realised in the form of grain, and one-third in the form of cloth, arms and other requisites for the army. In the capital of Madain and in the cities, districts and towns of Ajam, both remote and near, they constructed granaries, tanks and big halls and called them the 'Royal Granaries'. All grain and cloth were piled in these granaries and halls, and checked and assigned to reliable accountants and granary-keepers. In the following year the old grain was exchanged for new grain on a cheap rate, without incurring any loss. It became necessary for the inhabitants of the provinces to dispose of their grain and other commodities at the same rates at which they were sold by the government at the capital, and they did not have the courage to exceed the royal rates by a single dang or dirham without previous permission, and to cause loss. F.103b Two or three years having passed in this way, the purchases and sales described above became steady and continued so for a long time. On account of this permanent cheapness, the kingdom and the realm of the Kisras flourished for more than two thousand years, and became a cause of their good repute.

The regulation for the cheap price of horses, which are the principal requirement of the army, was this. Two hundred thousand mares with stallions in proportion were bought with cash from the treasury from all parts of the world. They were assigned at the purchase price to the mugaddams[399], landed magnates

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khots and distinguished persons of Ajam. For three years the people were not asked to pay the prices of the horses, and (in the next) three years the price was taken from them in instalments, and deposited in the treasury. In the kingdom of Ajam, through this regulation, so many horses became available, that they sufficed for the whole army of the Kisras and it was not necessary thereafter to bring horses from any other country. This regulation did not entail the expenditure of even a single dirham from the treasury, while the kingdom was full-flooded (with horses).[401] At the time of need, thousands upon thousands of their men could easily obtain horses at a cheap price in Ajam itself. Stability (in State affairs) appeared because of this facility and cheapness. This regulation (is) worthy of being followed.[402]

F.104a

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Nasihat No. X F.104a

On the Advantages of Kings being Careful of their Time and the Recognition of the Value of this Blessing.

Sultan Mahmud said: O sons of Mahmud and O kings of Islam, understand it and understand well, that kingship is one of the great affairs of the created world. And how can any function be greater, more respectable, honoured and distinguished than this - a man from among the men of this world, who in his mental make up and appearance, in his inward and outward character and qualities, in his external and internal needs is similar to all other sons of Adam, is elevated above the whole of mankind? He is appointed the commander and ruler over others, and all others are made subjects and slaves to his order. On him has been bestowed greatness, grandeur and a distinguished position, so that all people be in prostration before him, and his Gate and Court are created the centre for the satisfaction of the needs of the people of the world. The affairs of men - loosening and binding, contraction and expansion, exactions and gifts, confinement and setting free - are all dependent upon his orders and signals. The rebellious and the refractory, the iniquitous and the froward are made weak and helpless before him. Access and loyalty to the king, his service and paying respects to him, are made the fountain of

rank and the mine of honour. If the king does not realise the value of this bounteous blessing and distinctive power, of the dignity of the office and status of the deputyship and vice-gerency of God and does not utilise (his power) F.104b for the protection of the Faith, then it would be that there is no other more ungrateful wretch (کافر نعمت) than him? And if he employs such a blessing for the realisation of his sensual desires, and treats kingship as a means of sin, and stretches his hand in disobedience to God and His prophets, no creature among the creatures of the eighteen thousand worlds can equal his ingratitude.

The essence of the recognition of His great bounty is, that the king should realise the value and worth of his time in his life, and should not waste and while away the precious - indeed the most precious of all things - the moments of his life. He should spend (his time) in the affairs of government and administration in such a way, that he may be led to the high spiritual categories of nearness (to God) and may obtain the pleasure of the exalted God through this (wealth) 404 and office. After having performed his compulsory duties, he should devote himself exclusively to the management and control of public affairs, and regard himself dedicated to public business. He should not waste his precious life in pursuance of his sensual desires.

But absorption in, and devotion to public affairs is not possible unless the king divides and allocates his time, both

day and night, and assigns a definite period to every task and during that allotted period he concentrates only on that one task. So far as possible, he should attend F.105a (exclusively) to governmental business, and must not waste his precious life (in frivolity)[405], amours and worthless things. What a gross negligence would it be on his part, if he does not obtain the kingdom of the next world by using the power conferred by Almighty God through his plenitude of justice, beneficence, charitable and meritorious actions; if he does not consider each and every moment of this authority to be precious; does not, by a proper allocation of his time, rescue the oppressed and enforce justice; (spends his time)[406] in idleness, negligence and absurdities; and does not maintain the set routine of his time with all his heart and soul! If, God forbid, he employs all his authority for accumulating painful chastisement for himself for all eternity, and he uses all this power for the satisfaction of his sensual self, his punishments will be beyond all reckoning and computation, but in proportion to the pleasures, he has enjoyed. Every kind of greatness, which is possible for a human being to attain, can be obtained through such power, but if it is wasted, or if as a consequence of it he throws himself into heart-distressing punishment for all eternity, then this would be the greatest of tragedies and the worst of misfortunes.

It is related in the <u>Tarikh-i-Kisrawi</u>[407], that F.105b Kai-Khusrau, who was the king of the inhabited world, was asked:

"During your reign the world looks extremely well-administered and well-governed. How is this, and what is the cause?" Kai Khusrau replied: "The excellence of my government and administration is due to this. I have divided my time and, in accordance with this time-table of mine, I am not free from the affairs of my kingdom even for a single moment; I do not muddle my time, I have said good-bye to the sensual self. I have abandoned idleness and negligence, and have realised thoroughly the value of my period of rule. I am frightened and tremble at the wastage of my precious time. I am afraid lest any part of my time may be spent in worthless things, frivolity, or sin, so that I may be at a loss to account for it (to God). I am engaged day and night in setting right the affairs of God's creatures and I do not allow my time to be wasted. And this (warning) has come down to me from my ancestor, Kaimurs: "To take upon one's self such a heavy task as kingship and government; to assume responsibility for the whole world before the ball of destiny, and then to use this power for the satisfaction of sensual self; to enjoy pleasures on a royal scale; to consider it permissible to waste such a precious life in frivolity without realising the value of one's life and authority; to find F.106a no spare time for any consultation or (governmental) business -all this will bring tomorrow, on the 'Day of Judgment', such regrets and (punishment for sin) to the king, that the heavenly and earthly creatures shall weep and mourn at the

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miserable plight of the king, and be moved with pity at his helplessness!"

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It is written in the Sikandar Nama-i-Rumian, that Alexander asked Aristotle: "I have conquered the entire inhabited world, and having brought it under the pale of my obedience, I have established my power over it. Tell me what I ought to do next, and what design I ought to undertake so that I may discharge the responsibilities of world-government, and no one may catch hold of my skirt in this world and the next?"

Aristotle replied: "They, who undertake responsibility for the arrangement of a single household find it difficult to discharge their responsibilities, for it entails great hardships. How then is one to answer for the organisation of a whole kingdom? It can be imagined thus, how very difficult it is to undertake responsibility for all the seven climes. If the king wishes to do justice to the affairs of such a kingdom, the least he can do is this. He should deny peaceful sleep to his eyes, both day and night; he should sleep only for so long as is necessary for the fortification of his mental faculties. He should keep aloof from all physical enjoyments and pleasure. Apart from such food as is necessary for the satisfaction of hunger, he should eat only as much as is necessary to give him strength for the worship of God, for looking after the affairs of mankind, and not to such an extent

F.106b

as to cause repletion or the stimulation of his passions or induce heedless sleep. He should so apportion his days and nights, that he can look after the affairs of mankind and attend to the work of the seven climes at specified times. He should not muddle his work, and until one task has been achieved, he should not embark upon another. He should know that the burden of world government is such, that Gabriel and Michael have given deeds of utter inability (خطِ عجز) to bear it, and the Sky with all its grandeur complains against the burden of its weight. When the king devotes himself wholly to the care of the affairs of mankind, the Almighty God will forgive him for his human limitations; on account of his solicitude and absorption (in conducting the governmental business) he will not be asked to answer for those people, whose desperate condition he was not able to improve, and will be forgiven for his helplessness. He will be granted salvation for the sake of those people whom his labours have rendered prosperous. I cannot think of any other path of salvation for a king than the one, I have just spoken of." F.107a

Alexander wept bitterly, when he heard his wazir's reply. He arranged his time-table in an orderly way, and did not waste a single moment to the end of his life. He passed the first pas[410] of the day with religious scholars and hakims, and was engaged in (acquiring) knowledge and wisdom. In the second pas of the day he was busy with army commanders and army

affairs. During the third pas he was engaged with his ministers and efficient men about (the collection of the) Kharaj, Jizya and other taxes. The fourth pas he (passed) in granting gifts to beggars, the needy and the destitute. The first pas of the night he spent with physicians, soothsayers and astronomers. He slept during the second pas of the night and spent the last two passes in the service and worship of God.

After the death of Alexander, Aristotle saw him in a dream, and asked him how did he fare? Alexander kissed Aristotle's hands and replied: "I have attained to salvation, because of the advice you gave me about government and which I took to heart, not wasting my time uselessly and frivolously, or in the satisfaction of my sensual desires, but devoting myself exclusively to the improvement of God's creatures."

The majority of the great men of the Muslim community are agreed, that the king ought to possess perfection in wisdom and religion, so that he may discharge the obligation of government according to the will of God. For man, by his very nature, is dominated and controlled by his sensual self, whose satisfaction depends upon worldly goods. And the son of Adam wanders about night and day, risks his life, strives his hardest, launches himself into danger and difficulty, so that whatever his desires demand driving him to madness from time to time, he may obtain in this world,

F.107b

and the satisfaction of his desire may be possible for him. There is no power, tool or means for the satisfaction of lusts like love for wealth; the greater the wealth, the higher flies the ambition.

The richest of the rich in the world, both in dignity and wealth, is the king; he is, therefore, the most powerful of all men. Hence, the desires of the king expect their sensual satisfaction in proportion to his wealth and power; and the king, because of such massive wealth and power, cannot bear even the slightest trouble, affliction, displeasure, humility or disappointment. What kind of wisdom, faith and religiousness must there be in a king as a necessary condition of protecting religion, so that he may suppress his desires, which would be co-mingled with such enormous power and wealth; that he may trample underfoot and turn away F.108a from his commanding soul - he, who himself is the commanding soul of others; divide his time, and does not vary from his set time-table; devote fixed hours of his time to governmental affairs and important matters of administration; realise the value of his royal life and does not allow it to be wasted in frivolous, futile and foolish things, so that he may be [411] among the "saved" and not among "the damned ones" and also be able to prevent the worshippers of desire in the (Muslim) community by prohibitions, warnings, severities, and punishments? What can prevent the king from pursuing his

desires except the firmness of his religious convictions and his (orthodox) virtues?[412] Who in this world can have the courage to prevent him? But, if the king by a proper allotment of his time engages in administration, his designs, occupation and absorption (in affairs) will often prevent him from following his sensual self.

Now, O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, you should know that the king because of his very great power is so dominated by 'vanity', that if angels were to come down to the earth from the sky in person and were to ask him face to face and in person to give up the pursuance of his vanity, to restrain his hands from enjoyment and pleasure, and to wear himself F.108b out in the difficulties and hardships of government and administration, because these things will lead to his salvation and spiritual elevation, it would be impossible for the king to lend them a willing ear, or to abandon following his vanity, or to keep himself in affliction. For kingship is the very opposite of devotion, and the gratification of desire is a necessary outcome of power and glory. Power and success are necessary for kingship, while the requisites of devotion, and the aims and objects of religious devotees, are the abandonment of vanity, the toleration of hardships and the adoption of poverty and destitution. Among the requisites of devotion are complete poverty, humility, helplessness and service (to others).

If a man is kept hungry for a few days and then all round him a thousand kinds of rich dishes and delicious fruits are placed, and at that time he has complete freedom, then if they frighten him with God and forbid him by words saying: "Do not put forth your hands to any delicacy and do not (eat) anything in spite of your hunger," well, (this sort of command) at a time, when sumptuous food is available, does not come within the comprehension of human intelligence. A man hungry, and able to eat, will not desist from eating theavailable delicacies by being admonished, advised, frightened and terrorised by the "Unseen". Similarly, who can keep the king away with all his power, wealth and overpowering ambition, F.109a which is in proportion to his power, from worldly pleasures and luxuries, or (induce him) to embroil himself in difficulties and hardships, which are tiring and troublesome, or to throw himself into the sorrows and afflictions of mankind?

But if the king can recognise the worth of his life and his time, and allocates his time to the task of government, then since attention to governmental affairs strengthens the king's desire for 'power-prestige', he will inevitably be content with them. Apart from (the longing for) 'power and prestige', which is in itself a most potent ambition, he will not dabble in other pleasures and enjoyments, which are a source of ruin in this world and the next.

There are numerous advantages in the division of time and absorption in governmental affairs for the king.

(Sultan) Mahmud, who with so many illustrations and similies has shown you (the advisability) of avoiding the pursuit of pleasure and the allotment of your time to the management of governmental affairs, has still not totally prohibited all enjoyment and pleasure to you, who are sons of Mahmud and to kings of Islam! For Mahmud himself in his youth and middle age (كهوليت[413]) has enjoyed much of luxury and pleasure, and he has indulged in sensual pleasure and enjoyment in numerous ways. But out of experience and goodwill he says, that the safeguarding of the king's time and holding dear his precious breaths is of two kinds:- F.109b

The <u>first kind</u> is this. Some Sultans of the Orthodox Creed have realised fully the value of their lives; they have taken care of every breath of theirs and have not without good intentions laid their hands on any task. They have attended to the duties of religion and the kingdom by a proper apportionment of their time and have not whiled away or wasted a single moment of their lives. They have considered the transaction of governmental business in accordance with the will of God to be the greatest of all important affairs. But there have not been more than four or five such kings in the whole of the Muslim community. They are exceptions, and exceptions cannot be treated as a general rule.

The <u>second kind</u> is this. The kings, in spite of their pleasure and enjoyments, have not neglected conduct of

governmental affairs and have given the execution of governmental business precedence over pleasure and enjoyment. They have regarded their leisure as a good fortune and have recognised fully the worth of every matter, whether appertaining to governmental business or to person. So in spite of the pursuance of sensual self, the safeguarding of their leisure-time, and the recognition of the time for each task, they have been occupied in important (governmental) affairs, and have not ignored or ruined important affairs of administration and organisation.

Thus Mahmud organised convivial gatherings twice or thrice every year. In every enjoyment and pleasure he went to extremes. He organised pleasure-parties, and many F.110a humorous and witty things were uttered before him. Plenty of whatever was needed for the pleasure of kings and their musical parties was provided for and kept in his majlis. Boon companions, music (sama)[414], chess, nard, wit and humour - there was superabundance of these things in the pleasure-parties of Mahmud. And as to riding, playing ball, throwing the lance, archery and hunting, these were the hereditary arts of Mahmud. There was nothing lacking in them. And in love for the "beautiful", no king has obtained a reputation like Mahmud.

But in spite of his indulgence in pleasure and luxury, Mahmud gave precedence to several things.

First, in none of his majlis did he drink to such a

degree as to miss his prayers. Thus in his whole life Mahmud did not miss a single congregational prayer. He never got up from a majlis in such a condition, that he was unable to stand up for the 'Isha and Tahajjud' prayers. Secondly, he gave precedence to the care of official business over all matters of pleasure and enjoyment. Until Mahmud's heart was at ease about his royal business, no wine from a goblet passed down his throat, and no melody or wit and humour pleased him. (Thirdly)[415], if a religious and a wordly task confronted Mahmud at the same time, he gave precedence to the religious one, and until both had been accomplished, he did not give himself up to luxury, riding, hunting or playing ball. F.110b

(Fourthly)[416], in all majlises of Mahmud there was no idle talk or frivolity or obscenity. His majlises were mostly devoted to listening to the histories of the Sultans of the past and to the sayings and doings of fortunate and unfortunate kings. By listening to them, Mahmud and his company obtained warnings and experience. His pleasure-parties did not lack such discussion and taking of counsel about affairs of government and conquests as was fitting. At the time of hunting, the desire of which was ingrained in every fibre of Mahmud's being, there used to be discussions about the schemes and plans of conquest and administration, and the whole hunting time passed in this way. Mahmud took extreme care of his royal dignity and prestige, while he was absorbed in his convivial gatherings and the enjoyment of worldly pleasure and delight, so that his

majlis might not appear as a mere futility and a sheer waste in the eyes of the people, and the value and dignity of kingship and the prestige and grandeur of sovereignty may not suffer loss at the sight of those (unseemly) words F.111a and actions, movements and performances, which conduce to lowering the prestige of kingship. So when he had crossed his middle age and stepped into his old age then God, the Almighty made Mahmud well-acquainted with the hadis of the Prophet (peace be on him) and (thus) Mahmud came to know how he could manage the affairs of government and administration in order to obtain the pleasure of God, exalted be His glory.

The punishment for the pursuit of sensuality for an individual in hell-fire; the punishment for a king on whose head is the heavy burden of government for his pursuit of sensuality is beyond calculation and computation. For all that time and days, which he spends in futile, frivolous and obscene things or in the satisfaction of his sensual lust, there is no gain or cure at hand, except regret, sorrow and repentance. So, O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, it is your duty to recognise truly the value of your time and period of kingship, and to allot your time carefully to the execution of official business and the pursuit of sensual pleasure, so that you may be in a position to attend to both.[417] Within the limits of (human) capacity and as much as is in your power you should apply your time to the conduct F.111b

of governmental affairs and to enjoyment of pleasure as well, and regard it as a good fortune. Do not resort to excess in any undertaking; consider your time to be precious and do not while it away. And know this for sure, that just as age does not come back in the same way, time does not return. If you can, then give precedence to the orders of God over your own orders; and consider that God is always present and watching your doings. Give precedence to the work of government over your own sensual pleasure. On no occasion or time, whether of leisure or work, must you do anything, which in the end will bear no other fruit except regret and sorrow.

[418] (The) accounts of how Umar safeguarded his time, and how Arzalu Shah wasted it are worthy of credence.

<u>[419] (Anecdote) Illustrating the above Nasihat</u>.

Imam Mohammad Ishaq, who is among the reliable leading historians has stated in the <u>Tarikh-i-Ma-asir-i-Sahabah</u>[420] that the Commander of the Faithful Umar bin Khattab, (may God be pleased with him) sent Abu Hazifa Yameni, who was one of the leading Companions, as his ambassador to Qaisar of Rum. When Qaisar cast a look at Abu Hazifa's face, appearance and his life of piety, he was struck with surprise and wonder. Whenever Abu Hazifa went to Qaisar, the latter honoured him and made him sit before the throne.[421] When the (court) was adjourned, the Qaisar used to call Abu Hazifa to a confidential meeting and ask him about the condition of Umar, his F.112a

dealings with the people, his food and dress. Abu Hazifa related to him on the basis of what he had seen and Qaisar used to be amazed on hearing about Umar's dealings and his mode of life until one day Qaisar inquired about Umar's safeguard of his time, and Abu Hazifa replied: "The time of my Caliph is spent either in his devotions and prayers to God or in attending to official business in accordance with the sunnah of Mustafa. He allots a particular time to every business, and deviation and swerving from it are impossible. No hour, in fact no moment of the Caliph's time is idled away or spent on frivolity.

"Tell me," the Qaisar asked: "How your Caliph has apportioned his time?"

Abu Hazifa replied: "My Caliph says his obligatory morning prayer in the early morning hours with the Companions in the mosque of the Prophet of the Lord of the world. He recites two long chapters from the Quran during the prayer so that his recitation in person arouses the hope and fear of God in the minds of his listeners. From that time until sunrise he is engaged in reading the Quran and in reciting prayer-formulae. (ادعیّہ و اوراد). After sunrise, he performs two genuflections of supererogatory prayer. Then he sits with his back towards the arch and his face towards the people. He summons the F.112b Companions and grants seats to them at their proper places. The Companions sit before him in accordance with the precedence

and dignity they command before his Caliphate. The Caliph then with the advice and consent of the great Companions begins to transact governmental business. He reads the petitions of the governors and the tax-collectors in the provinces of Islam, and replies to each one of them. He writes in his own hand to those who are (near)[422] to him (in status) in the following manner; "From (Umar)[423] the Commander of the Faithful and the servant of the (Mussalmans)[424]". To others, Usman son of Affan, who is the son-in-law of the Prophet, writes on the Caliph's dictation. After finishing this work, if any money has been received by way of kharaj, jizya and one fifth of spoils , the Caliph often sends it to the homes of the Companions, giving precedence to the family of the Prophet and the Prophet's relations from the tribe of Hashim. After having finished this, the law-suits of the people of Medina, if any, are brought forward. He attempts to find out the facts (of the case) through a good deal of inquiry and investigation, and settles it in accordance with the "Word" of God and His Prophet. If the facts are not clearly proved, he keeps the case pending. After the settlement of the law-suits, he orders money to be paid from the Baitul-Mal to those entitled to it. He then inquires about the horses and camels of the Baitul-Mal, and F.113a issues an order for their food..[425](fodder)[426] from the Baitul-Mal. If an army has to be sent in any direction or if a province

needs help, he equips and prepares an army according to the requirements (of the occasion), and sends it to the place, which has asked for it. He inquires about the condition and needs of the army, which he has settled all round Medina, from the heads of the tribes and the leaders of the army, and gives orders concerning all matters according to the requirements of the occasion. If anyone seeks redress from the Caliph about the injustice of another, then if the accused is present in Medina, he is brought immediately, even if he happens to be the brother or son of the Caliph, and the Caliph metes out to him a punishment, which becomes a warning for others. If the wrongdoer is absent, the Caliph sends a stern person to summon him and (meanwhile) he treats kindly the injured and strengthens his heart. After finishing this work, he inquires into the condition of the (needy)[427] and those who have been sent with the army; he sees to it personally, that what they need is sent to every tribe. He directs every Companion to inquire constantly about the needy, and to bring such matters to his notice.

When the sun reaches the middle of the sky and it is midday, then if the Caliph is fasting, he goes to (his)[428] house and the crowd disperses. He eats dry bread for his meal F.113b and has an afternoon nap. After that he performs his ablutions, returns to the mosque and says his afternoon prayer with the companions and others who are present at the earliest time in

peace and tranquility. Then until the evening prayer he is again occupied in public business. If he is fasting, he has his afternoon sleep in the mosque; he puts a brick under his head, lies down on a sack-cloth in a corner of the mosque and sleeps for a while. But he wakes up very soon, performs his ablutions before the mosque door and says his afternoon prayer. Most of the sharia punishments Hudud and Tazir, if proved against someone, are inflicted after the afternoon prayer. Of course, he has one or two camels slaughtered from the Baitul-Mal daily, and gets the meal cooked. Occasionally at the early time of the evening prayer, he has the food laid in his presence; calls travellers, the poor and the destitute, and makes them eat. At the beginning and the end of the meals he helps them in washing their hands and he himself serves food to them. He says his evening prayer also in congregation and acts as an Imam at all the five prayers.

At times after the afternoon prayer he takes his whip, and goes on foot to market places. Owing to his one blessed presence, fear and terror overtake the people and the shop-keepers tremble. The Caliph, through his terror and fear, prohibits and warns all merchants against selling at high prices; against cheating, fraud, regrating and gross misappropriation. If such a thing is seen anywhere, punishment is meted out to wrong-doers in accordance with the orders of the Sharia. If regrating comes to the knowledge of the

F.114a

Commander of the Faithful, he orders (the regrated commodity) to be confiscated as fodder for the horses and camels of the Baitul-Mal. If there is extortionate selling or gross misappropriation in commercial transactions, he punishes the shop-keepers severely, and whips them with his own hand.

Near the time of the evening prayer, warm and perspiring, the Caliph returns to the mosque of the Prophet (peace be on him); performs his ablutions before the mosque door; enters the mosque, and says his prayer in congregation. After the obligatory and recommended genuflections (of the Maghirib prayer), he performs twenty genuflections of the awwabin prayer. (اوابین). Then he sits with his back towards the arch, and the Companions sitting round him. From that time until one third of the night, they are busy in recounting the good deeds, virtues, laudable actions, miracles and dealings of the Prophet (peace be on him), and his religious campaigns, which they witnessed. The Commander of the Faithful and the Companions weep bitterly at their separation from the Prophet (peace be on him), and tears of blood flow from their eyes. During day and night they make repeated pilgrimages to the F.114b tomb of the Prophet (peace be on him), and at the time of their pilgrimages, because of their yearning for the Prophet, their souls are about to leave their bodies. They consider it among their religious duties to remember the Prophet (peace be on him); to offer pilgrimages to his tomb; to weep at their 429 separation from him; to recount his (good deeds); and they

are not guilty of any carelessness and negligence in this matter.

After this, the Commander of the Faithful offers his bed-time prayer in congregation. During the time, when he goes to his house, he inquires about the good and bad there, and attends to the requirements of his family and arrangements for their upkeep. Then if there is no work for him in his house and no one from his family presses him about his needs, the Caliph takes his whip; proceeds to the house of two or three of his great friends, and takes them along with him and for half a pas or one pas (of the night), they wander about in Medina like patrols. During this patrolling, he inquires about the condition of orphans, widows, the (invalid)[430] the helpless and the oppressed. If he sees anyone in need, he fixes (the amount of help) immediately and orders it to be sent to him from the Baitul-Mal the following morning. The food and dress of my Caliph is all[431]......................

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....

.... and has been nurtured in the company of the Prophet of God (peace be upon him), and the light of the Prophet's blessings has shone upon him."

F.115b

Two days after hearing the above account Qaisar summoned Abu Hazifa to his public audience. He came down from his

throne, kissed Abu Hazifa's hands and completed the business for which Abu Hazifa had come as an ambassador. He wrote a letter to the Commander of the Faithful with the respect with which slaves write to their masters. In brief he sent the message: "Tell the Commander of the Faithful that, on hearing the account of his dealings with his people, I have become a Mussalman and have entered the creed of his Prophet. But I see that if I profess my acceptance of Islam openly, the Romans, (who) are all Christians, will not leave me alive."

However the Haravis have related the story of the wastage of his time by Arzalu Shah, the king of Khursasan as follows. There was a king in Khurasan named Arzalu Shah, who was a self-willed and conceited ruler. When he had established himself on the throne of Khurasan, and some of his affairs of government had been achieved according to his wish and desires, a strange pride germinated in his brain. He abandoned taking of counsel, turned self-willed and arrogant, and kept aloof from the traditions and customs of his ancestors. His well-wishers did not have the courage to give him any counsel or advice. He was so intoxicated with vanity, that he changed the customary order of business, F.116a and began to while away his time on frivoloty. At the time of drinking, he would go out hunting; and at the of hunting, he would attend to some other business. With regard to governmental business Arzalu Shah did whatever he willed or

whatever was prompted by his vanity. He did not listen to the advice of anyone by any means. Neither did he realise the value of his time, nor did he understand the proper occasion for any task and considered the affairs of government an easy matter.

After a short time a king of another country attacked his kingdom, ravaged and plundered its frontiers and retired from there. This news was brought to Arzalu Shah, who immediately on hearing it was overcome with annoyance, and without any consultation, or any regard for the time and season of campaigning, marched towards the territory of the other king. His tent-enclosure was pitched outside (his capital), and he summoned his forces from all directions. It was the end of summer, the rainy season (برشکال)[432] was approaching, and there was no time left for marching or campaigning. It became necessary for his (wazirs)[433] to disregard their position and say to him: "The essence of the business of government is regard for time and circumstances. F.116b If kings have no regard for time, then flagrant injuries will be caused to the kingdom, and there will be no remedy for them within the limits of possibility. It is the end of summer; the rainy season is at hand and there is no time left for marching and campaigning. If the King advances (heedless of time)[434] and occasion, he will not only face trouble himself, but will cause distress to others also; his object will not

be attained and the army will be scattered. It is indeed a great misfortune for kings to retire without attaining their object."

But Arzalu Shah had become so self-willed and conceited that he did not pay any attention to the advice of his wazirs. He paid no regard to time and reason, circumstances and hour, proper attention to which is one of the necessities of government and administration, and did not ponder over the consequences and ultimate results of his undertaking. He marched with his forces as fast as he could in the direction of the realm of the anamy, entered it and plundered and ravaged some territories. But as the enemy was a man of experience, he kept in view the unsuitable time and occasion (of Arzalu Shah's invasion), and neither did he come out of his capital, nor did he trouble his soldiers at an inopportune season. Soon afterwards the rainy season arrived; it rained continually, the river banks were filled to the brim, and every stream turned into a river. It became impossible F.117a for Arzalu Shah to return to his country. Overcome with bewilderment Arzalu Shah, with a high mountain behind him, stopped and encamped in a plain of tares. As one or two months passed in continual rainfall, the army could not get any fodder. Many soldiers were reduced to destitution; the animals of the army also became sick, afflicted and weak. The horsemen were rendered helpless owing to hunger; they came out of the camp in batches of ten or twenty and walked off in

different directions. As soon as the winter season arrived, the enemy came out of his capital with his army, attacked Arzalu Shah and captured him alive. He seized the arms and horses of Arzalu Shah's soldiers, but allowed them to depart, and took Arzalu Shah alive to his capital. He sent his armies to devastate and plunder Arzalu Shah's territory and they brought back enormous spoils.

This story has become a mirror of experience for the kings of this earth, so that they may realise the value of their time, and take good care of the time and season for an undertaking in order that the ultimate end of their undertaking may be good and prosperous, if God, the Most High wills![435]

(Nasihat)[436] No. XI. F. 117a.

On the Advantages of King's Arrangement of Affairs by which Truth is established at the Centre in Affairs of State.

Sultan Mahmud says: O sons of Mahmud and kings of F.117b Islam, know and beware, that salvation and spiritual status for the king, who engages in the affairs of government, which all (consist) in the enjoyment and in the satisfaction of sensual desires and (cravings)[437] for God's attributes, are not possible except by his making arrangements by which Truth is established at the Centre and by the utilisation of his government and administration for increasing the honour of the religion and the kingdom of Mustafa.

Yoy are to know, that the meaning of "Truth being established at the Centre" is not that falsehood totally disappears and Truth alone remains in this world. For Almighty God has said: "We have created two souls," That is, all things have been created in pairs, and that after one thing another (opposite to it) has been brought into existence. Opposed to truth falsehood has been created, and opposed to rectitude is villany. In (contrast)[438] to good, evil has been created; opposed to devotion there is sinfulness, and opposed to obedience there is disobedience. Similarly day and night, light (redness) and darkness, sky and earth, religion and unbelief, (belief in) the Unity of God, and polytheism have been created in pairs and as counterparts of each other.

The object of the previous premiss is this. F.118a
Truth being established at the Centre does not mean that falsehood is totally overthrown. For if all prophets and sultans collect together and try to remove and eliminate falsehood, and all that kufr, disorders, sin and wickedness, which is in (the world)[439] so that only Truth, which is Islam, rectitude, submission and virtue, may prevail, they most certainly will not be able to succeed. For it is not within the bounds of possibility that there should be only virtue in this world and no evil, only rectitude and no villany, only Islam and belief in the Unity of God and no kufr and shirk, for truth becomes evident because of the existence of falsehood, good because of the existence of evil, Islam because of the existence of kufr, and belief in the Unity of God because of the existence of kufr and shirk. It is (thus) known that this is truth and that is falsehood; that this is good, and that is evil, that this is Islam and that is kufr, that this is belief in the Unity of God and that is polytheism. "All things (are) distinguishable because of their opposites". (بضدها يتبين الاشياء).

Further, if behind falsehood, which denotes wickedness, kufr, shirk, disorder, and sin, there had not been a wisdom, which we do not comprehend, God would not have created it. Also Hell, which the unbelievers will fill, would not have been created. For God, May His name be glorified, has said: - The saying of God, the most exalted: "We will fill Hell all with men and jins."

So, the real meaning of "Truth being established F.118b at the Centre", is that Truth is to prevail over

falsehood and that falsehood is not to overpower Truth, so that the glory of (belief in) the Unity of God, the prestige of Islam, and the humiliation of shirk and the worthlessness of kufr (may be) realised.[440]

The king will not have striven for the elevation of the True Word, for the supremacy of the True Faith over the false creeds, and for establishing the glory (belief in) the Unity of God and the prestige of Islam unless with all his courage he devotes himself to the overthrow of kufr and shirk, to the slaughter of the mass of the leaders of kufr, who in the realm of Hind are Brahmans, and to overpowering, capturing, enslaving, degrading and humiliating all kafirs and mushriks: and unless he uses the whole of his own power and prestige as well as the power and prestige of the warriors of Islam in holy wars and holy campaigns, risks himself and the holy warriors in elevating the "True Word", and strives for the supremacy of the true faith over the false creeds by overthrowing and suppressing them as if they had never existed and not merely suppressing them. For if the king, with his authority of dominion and his power and dignity, which God has granted him, is content to realise jizya* and kharaj from the Hindus and does not risk his heart and soul in overthrowing kufr and kafiri, shirk and mushriki and allows kufr and kafari to be preserved, what difference can there be in this single matter between the kings of Islam F.119a and the (Rais)[441] of the kafirs? Because the Rais of the Kafirs also take jizya and kharaj from all Hindu mushriks and

kafirs; in fact, they take a hundred more taxes from the Hindus of their provinces and territories (than the Muslim kings), and fill up their treausries with the money of the Hindus, who belong to their own false faith.

Further, if the kings of Islam, in return for kharaj and jizya preserve kufr and kafiri, shirk and mushriki in their country in spite of their royal power and grandeur, how will the Tradition - "I have been ordered to fight all people until they say, "There is no God but Allah," their lives and their properties are protected from me, (امرت ان اقاتل الناس حتى يقولوا لا اله الا الله فاذا قالوا لا اله الا الله عصموا مني دماءهم واموالهم الا بحق الاسلام) subject to the law of Islam (as between Muslims) be enforced? And how will kufr and kafiri, shirk and mushriki be suppressed and overthrown, though this has been the (divine) point behind the prophethood of one hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets and the authority of early and later sultans? Also, if the kings of Islam do not strive with all their power for the overthrow of kafirs and mushriks and the liquidation of kufr and kafiri, if they do not concentrate all their courage and energies in seeking this object for the purpose of obtaining the pleasure of God and His Prophet, the protection of the Faith and the elevation of the "True Word", and if they are merely content with extracting the jizya and the tribute F.119b from the Hindus, so that the Hindus, who are worshippers of idols and of cow-dung preserve intact their community and their traditions of kufr and kafiri, how will kufr and kafiri

be liquidated now, since the liquidation of kufr and kafiri by the preachings of the prophets has come to an end with ~~the~~ prophet Mohammad, then how will Truth be established perpetually at the Centre, and how will the elevation of the True Word be possible? Further, how will the True Faith overpower other creeds, if the kings of Islam, with that power and prestige, which Islam has obtained on the earth and with their (seven hundred) 442 years of hereditary faith in Islam, permit that in their capital and in the cities of the Mussalmans the traditions of kufr and kafiri are openly displayed, idols are openly worshipped, the traditions of kufr and kafiri are adhered to to the fullest extent; and (the kafirs) openly and without fear continue the rules of their false creed, preserve their temples, adorn their idols, make merry in their festivities with beat of drums and <u>dhols</u>, singing and dancing, and through the payment of a few tankas of <u>jizyat</u>, continue all the traditions of kufr and kafiri. All of them say their lessons from their false religious books and promulgate the doctrines of these books. How will the traditions of Islam be elevated? How will the orders for enforcing the good and prohibiting the evil be enforced and maintained? ~~F.120a.~~ F. 120a

Moreover, how will the traditions of Islam be elevated, in what way will the True Word be honoured, and how will the True Faith overpower the false creeds and Truth be established at the Centre, if the kings of Islam are not imbued (by the

desire) for the protection and promotion of the Faith, if their hearts are not filled with the desire to overthrow kufr and kafiri, if through belief in the Unseen they (do not strive to establish) Truth at the Centre of religion and the (state),[443] if they are content with a few tankas of jizya' from the kafirs and mushriks; if they consider the taking of kharai and jizya' from the kafirs and mushriks to be (sufficient for) the elevation of the rites of Islam for establishing Truth at the Centre, for obtaining glory for the True Word in this world and for raising the prestige of Islam from time to time; if the desire for the extirpation of kufr and kafiri and overthrow of kafirs and mushriks does not arise in the sanctuary of their breasts, but on the other hand, because of the consideration that kafirs and mushriks are payers of kharaj and jizya', they make the kafirs exalted, distinguished, honoured and favoured, bestow on them drums, banners, ornaments, cloaks of brocade and caparisoned horses, and appoint them to governorships, government posts and offices; and in their Capital, by whose status the status of all other Muslim cities is raised, they permit and are contented (with the fact) that kafirs, mushriks, idol worshippers and cow-dung worshippers build houses like palaces, wear clothes of brocade and ride Arab horses, caparisoned with gold and silver; if the kafirs are equipped with a hundred thousand sources of power, they dwell amidst delight and comfort; they take Mussalmans into their

F.120b

service and make them run before their horses. The poor Mussalmans beg at their doors; and if in the capital of Islam, on account of which the whole edifice of Islam is elevated, they are called <u>rais</u>, <u>ranas</u>, <u>thakurs</u>, <u>sahas</u>, <u>mehtas</u> and <u>pandits</u>?

Further, if the desire to protect the true Faith and to execute the orders of the <u>Sharia</u> of Mustafa does not[444] seize hold of the kings of Islam; and they permit and order the Mussalmans to adopt dirty and sinful professions and crafts, to drink, and gamble in every bazaar and lane, and to organise splendid concerts, and take <u>kharaj</u> from these groups; and these sinners, deceivers and organisers of public immorality are engaged in sin and iniquity without any fear or danger on their part in every lane, and city-quarter, then will the order of the good and the prohibition of the evil, which is the essence of the Faith and the execution of which is necessary and obligatory on all Muslim kings, (become)[445] F.121a manifest, and how will the prestige of Islam (be exalted)[446] and Truth be firm at the Centre?

Further, if the kings approve and appreciate, that those philosophers of bad dogmas or other people of (bad[447] dogmas), who are opponents of the True Faith and enemies of Mustafa, read their books openly; give to the sciences of the Greeks, which are the enemies of the laws of tradition of early and later prophets, the name of <u>Ilm-i-Maql</u> (rational

knowledge), and to the science of the *Sharia*, they give the name of *Ilm-i-Manqul* (traditional knowledge); consider the world to be eternal and proclaim it to be such; do not regard the Almighty God as the Knower of all particulars; be disbelievers in the Day of Judgment and Resurrection and the Day of Reckoning and in Heaven and Hell, which are the prop of true belief, and which have been revealed in three hundred and sixty revealed books of the prophets, and in denial of these things they both speak and write rational arguments, and if such people come to live with honour and dignity in the capital of the king, promulgate their doctrines and show their preference for the rationalistic over the traditional (sciences), then how is the True Faith to prevail over the false creeds, or the traditions of Islam be elevated, or Truth established at the Centre, or the prestige of ordering the good and prohibiting the evil attained?

So, O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, if you seek for your salvation and high spiritual status in the next world, so that you may not be ashamed and feel humiliated to-morrow, on the Day of Judgment, before Allah and Mustafa, and all that you have said and done and worn and eaten may be noted down as virtues in the record of your lives, concentrate all your royal efforts on the liquidation of kufr and kafiri, and the overthrow of kafirs, *mushriks* as well as men of bad creeds and bad dogmas. In order to win the pleasure of God and Mustafa and all the prophets and saints

F.121b

who are the beloved ones of God and for the glory of God, you (should) treat the enemies of God and His religion as your enemies and keep them as your enemies."Strive with your royal power and dignity in overthrowing kafirs and mushriks and do not be satisfied with the jizya and kharaj from them. With the great royal power and prestige (which you possess), do not allow shirk and kufr to be preserved; strive for the liquidation of kufr and kafiri day and night, so that you may (on the Day of Judgment) be raised among the prophets, be blessed with the vision of the Almighty God for all eternity, and may find "a seat among the truthful, near the powerful king (God)." For the majority of religious scholars and wise men, ancient and modern, know, that if Muslim kings strive with all their might, and employ their entire will-power and that of their supporters and helpers, and their strength and prestige, then the True Religion will rightly gain an ascendancy over the false ones; the elevation of the True Word will be attained on this earth, shirk and kufr will be weakened, and the enemies of God and the religion of Mustafa will be condemned, banished, repudiated and vanquished, the followers of Islam will be favoured and honoured, kafirs and men of bad dogmas will be faced with humiliation and destitution, the orders of those kingdoms, (where false religions are practised), and the opposed religions will be erased, and the laws of the Shariat will be enforced among the seventy-two communities.

F. 122a

Whenever the king with pious intentions and resolute courage and all solicitude along with all his supporters and followers employs all the authority, power and prestige of his dominion, realising that the most important affair of his religion and government is the splendour of Mohammad's creed, then the practice of obeying commands for the good and prohibition of the evil becomes manifest in his capital and in the provinces of his kingdom; through the enforcement of the good and the prohibition of the evil the rites of Islam are elevated from time to time, virtue and rectitude arise, and charity and obedience not only appear, but appear with the beat of drums; sin and iniquity, wickedness and wrong-doing sink low and remain in hiding and secrecy; justice and benevolence become wide-spread, while oppression and tyranny become almost non-existant and disappear. The Sunni sciences appear sweet to the hearts of man, and their minds are repelled against innovations, their knowledge, and their literature; the religious and the protectors of religion attain to dignity and honour, while men of bad creeds, bad beliefs, innovators, bad religions and enemies of religions become contemptible, destitute, worthless and of no account; the virtues of religion become current and disbelievers in the Shariat sink low; things disapproved F.122b and prohibited (by Islam) seem as if they had never existed; love of God and the Prophet is strengthened in the hearts of the Muslim community and love of this world, which is a

(source of) affliction in the path of truth; (fancy)[448] for villany, perversity and evil diminishes in the breasts of men; the quest for the next world is increased and disgust and reproach arise for worldly desires; the virtues of human character overpower its evil tendencies; truth becomes glorified and adorned; the truthful are honoured; falsehood is disgraced and dishonoured and the liars are humiliated, Saiyyids, religious scholars, Sheikhs, pious people, ascetics, devotees, virtuous and the recluses become great, honoured, distinguished and glorious in the minds and hearts of men, while the ignorant, the mischievous, the dishonest, the shameless and those lazy in their prayers become contemptible, worthless and of no account in (men's) eyes; sincerity of intention appears in holy wars and campaigns and the desire for martyrdom illuminates the hearts of holy warriors and victors; truthfulness and rectitude make merry while deception and cheating weep; the righteous and the (just)[449] attain to offices of government and religion, while the tyrants and the evil-minded wander about or by a change of disposition, they cultivate justice and virtue; the rich and the wealthy discharge their obligations towards God and take to bestowing gifts, alms, and conferring benefits; the poor and the needy, (are not) left[450]) to die and they are rescued from hunger and nakedness; the means for honest and lawful livelihood become plentiful and customary, while F.123a (means of livelihood which are) prohibited, disapproved,

doubtful and wicked grow less and take to concealment, being ashamed (of justifying themselves) through explanations and false stratagem; frivolity and hypocrisy give birth to shame; good deeds and beneficence walk proudly while evil and sin become extinct and concealed; justice appears in buying and selling, and extortionate sellings and regrating (disappear)[451]; shop-keepers do not resort to deceit and cheating, (and) they are unable to practice adulteration of commodities by pretexts and excuses and they consider selling through notorious fraud a great sin, and it is not possible for them to be bold in cheating the ignorant; both buyers and sellers follow the orders of brokers and judicial officers; the brokers follow the path of equity; they make the profession of sin and iniquity appear to the people equal to infidelity, and the publication and production of this sinfulness appears necessary; the obedient and the submissive stretch their legs on their beds without any anxiety on their part and sleep in peace, while the rebellious and the refractory (rightly)[452] tremble day and night from fear of the king's sword; general peace and security prevail and haughtiness withers away from men's breasts, and whore-mongering is removed from the dealings of men; the strong do not overpower the weak, and the hands of subjugation are broken; rebelliousness does (not)[453] illuminate men's minds and the doors of disorder are (not)[454] open (نمایند); the hands of highway-robbers are amputated owing to their highway-robbery. The God-fearing and honest are made

officers and exalted, while cheats and deceivers are F.123b rendered beggars and dismissed; the faithful become famous and the faithless reduced to no account; persons of noble and free-birth are (satisfied)[455], while the low and the mean are chastised; sincerity and good-will take possession of men's breasts and hypocrisy, jealousy, and calumny and malevolence are removed from men's minds; the mosques, and schools are full; the Sufi hospices and (banqueting-houses)[456] become replete, sons become obedient to their parents, and the rights towards guardians are discharged; rectitude on the lips of men and uprightness among slave-girls and loyalty to salt appear among slaves; the poor and the needy get what is enough for them; widows and orphans do not suffer from want; travellers do not sleep hungry; waifs and travellers get expenses for their return; gratitude for (divine) blessings becomes current in the conversations of the nobles and the commons, and ingratitude and lack of thankfulness are diminished; promises become firm and covenants are performed; the thought of rebellion (does not arise)[457] in people's minds; 'Had punishments, imposed by the <u>Shariat</u> and the <u>Tazirs</u> of the Sultans render all things forbidden, disapproved, prohibited and unlawful + bitter in the mouths of men; and regard for religion prevents the open profession of sins and wickedness.

Whenever these things are obtained, Truth (is said to have) been established at the Centre.

But it is beyond the imagination of men, that F.124a

kufr, shirk, sin and iniquity, mischief, falsehood, depravity, lying, counterfeiting coins, drunkenness, adultery, sodomy, anger, plunder, injustice, cruelty, subjugation, domination, rebellion, sedition, tyranny, enemity, revolt, disobedience, dishonesty, deception, cheating, fraud, miappropriation, disobedience to parents, corruption, slander, calumny, backbiting detractions, accusation, vanity, jealousy, ill-will, shamelessness, imprudence, perfidy, theft, (treachery)[458], highway robbery, usury, regrating, unthankfulness, ungratefulness, oppression, forbidden and disapproved (actions) are totally obliterated and be utterly destroyed from amongst mankind. And that *kafirs*, *mushriks*, men of bad religions, bad doctrines, and bad beliefs, innovators, molestors of the religion and opponents of the *Shariat* of the Leader of the Apostles, the wicked, the sinful, the vain, evil-doers, tyrants, oppressors, plunderers, usurers, rebels and mischief-makers are extirpated, or that different kingdoms and false creeds become totally exterminated and overthrown.

This extirpation (of evil) is not possible, either through the guidance and preaching of prophets or through the dominion of a kingdom and the (violence)[459] and authority of kings.

For man by his very nature is composed of contrary qualities; he has been created with virtues and vices. And in the original record the Pen ~~F. 124b~~ of Divine Order has [F. 124b] laid down at the very beginning of mankind with regard to the human race - Islam and Kufr, good and bad, virtue and

wickedness, guidance and error, obedience and sinfulness. So, the (total) suppression of sin and evil is among things impossible and beyond achievement; it cannot be brought within the realm of the possible.

But through the resolute courage of kings, it is possible that they may bring in regularity in their administration; sit down with resolution and avidity and risk their power, grandeur, prestige and authority so that the True religion may overcome the false creeds, the rites of Islam may be elevated, and false religions may be (suppressed)[460] and disgraced. Thus what has been designed originally comes to pass, and Truth becomes established at the Centre. The kings nevertheless ought to know, what is meant by the establishment of Truth at the Centre, so that they may spend their lives in working for it, realising that establishing Truth at the Centre is the most important of their governmental affairs, and that they have to risk themselves and their helpers and supporters in the realisation of this enterprise.

The kings, through their solicitude for this work and enterprise, which has been the (duty)[461] of prophets, caliphs, saints, the truthful and the earlier and later kings of the Muslim community, will obtain in this world F. 125a priases for their good deeds, which will last until the Day of Judgment, and in the next world they will be raised to the status of prophets, truthful men, saints and those near to

God and will enjoy a good share of that blessing "which the ear has not heard of and the eye has not seen". The kings will be satisfied by favours of various kinds in heaven for their words and deeds (performed) in return for the obligations imposed on them. Love for them will be inscribed in the hearts of the nobles and the commons in every generation and accounts of their goodness will remain on the lips of God's creatures. Since religious perfection of Muslim kings consists of this, that they risk themselves and their power and dignity and strive day and night for establishing Truth at the Centre, so the sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam ought to know, that establishing Truth at the Centre according to the Orthodox Faith implies both excellence of knowledge and excellence of action. There is no action (more high) in the world than the actions of the prophets. The rewards, which have been promised (by God) for this action have not been promised for any other except the actions of the prophets. And this action in spite of its excellence and very great.....[462.]

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat.[463]

It is related in the book, Massirul-Khulafa, that after the death of the commander of the Faithful Harun ur-Rashid there were skirmishes and battles between his sons, Mohammad Amin and Mamun. Slackness appeared in their dominions and due to the indulgence of the two brothers in hostilities there arose negligence and default in the duty of ordering the good

F.125b

and prohibiting the evil. In (Baghdad),[464] the City of Peace, sin and wickedness became public; pleasure houses were constructed, and adultery and (sodomy)[465] became widespread. Male prostitutes and sodomites fixed their rates and sat openly in places meant for sinning. Forbidden things appeared in lanes and bazaars, and the fear and terror of the sovereign power disappeared from the hearts of the sinful and the wicked. Baghdad, the City of Peace, became the City of the (Ignobles).[466] Tavern-keeping, gambling and flute-playing became current; the sinful and the wicked made love-making and (cheating)[467] their art and profession and the revilers and divulgers took pride and credit for the increasing number of their sins and wickedness. The unworldly religious scholars, such as Imam Ahmad Hanbal, Imam Yahya Muyyim, Abdullah Mubarak, and other pious and religious men of Baghdad were unable to see forbidden things being openly and widely practised in the Darus Salaam of Islam;[468] to witness all lewd practices and forbidden and unlawful things in every lane and city-quarter, and to behold sin and iniquity obtaining currency in bazaars. They took to seclusion and closed their (doors)[469] to the evil of people's coming and going. They neglected attending the congregational prayers on Fridays and the (two) I'ds[470] and abandoned meeting and mixing (with people). F.126a

Further, when the regligious scholars of the Mohammedan religion beheld philosophical studies gaining currency, and found that many philosophers had come to

Baghdad in the guise of religious scholars and acquired root there, that these accursed philosophical sciences, which are the enemies of Sunnah and contradictory to the ways and path of the prophets, were being taught openly in the mosques of the Mussalmans by these men of bad religion and bad dogmas; that they were distributing their books of impure doctrines, and leading astray the new students; that they were impressing on their hearts, that whatever was not proved by rational arguments, and whatever reason refused to accept should be treated as impossible; and that they were shaking the beliefs of men in the sciences of Tradition, which are the essence of prophets, and were imposing their arguments on them, then they these un-worldly religious scholars considered it as a great mis-fortune for the Dar-us-salam. They could not at all bear the sight of either the traditions[471] of philosophical sciences or the public manifestation of sin and obscenity, and stayed in the seclusion of their own homes.

When Mohammad Amin was removed and Mamun ascended the throne of Baghdad and the provinces came under his control, and consoliation and organisation appeared among the people, then the news that pious scholars had secluded themselves and shut their doors reached Mamun's ears, and he also came to F.126b know the cause of it. He said that they were right in refusing to associate with the people and in not stepping out of their houses, for Baghdad was full of sinful obscenities, filth, and things forbidden, while the orders of the Shariat exercised no currency and were being slighted in every lane and city-quarter. How could they have witnessed such things?

After this the Commander of the Faithful ordered religious scholars, shaikhs and leading and trusted officers to be summoned before the throne; those pious scholars, who had shut their doors were also to be brought to the meeting, and a great meeting was held. Mamun again asked those secluded religious scholars the reason for their seclusion and retirement. They replied: "To-day Baghdad is the capital of the religion and kingdom of Mustafa and also the throne of the Abbasid Caliphs, who are the descendants of the Prophet's uncle. Every phenomenon that (appears)[472] in the affairs of religious or worldly life at Baghdad, will also reappear in all Muslim countries throughout the inhabited globe. If the generality of the Mussalmans of Baghdad are devoted entirely to obscenity and sin in Baghdad, then in other countries they will even build idol-temples and start idol-worship in the cities of

Islam. Whenever in the capital if Islam, the philosophers F.127a of bad dogmas and other people of bad religion, and bad faith attain to respect and honour with elegance and circulation, and make proclamations concerning their (power)[473], affluance and wealth, then in other cities, kafirs, mushriks and idol-worshippers will raise palaces, live in luxury, lord it over the Mussalmans, and give currency to their false religions. Flasehood will prevail over truth. Mamun praised these religious scholars for their words uttered by them in sympathy for the religion and consideration for Islam and their being ashamed at the appearance of sinfulness, kufr, and the accursed religions.

Before the meeting was organised, Mamun had selected two hundred men for the posts of Judicial officers and muhtasibs from among the officers of the capital of the Caliphate, who were distinguished for their stiffness and ruggedness. He summoned these two hundred officers in the meeting before the caliphal throne and said to the religious scholars: "I have selected these two hundred men, who in my opinion are robust and who look religious as compared with so many other officers of the court for the posts of muhtasibs and judicial officers of Baghdad. After having divided the city-quarters, the lanes and bazaars of Baghdad, I have assigned them to the care of each of these. I have made their hands strong with horsemen and footmen; and in the presence of you all, who are not F.127b only scholars of religion, law and the Hadis, but are also

distinguished for piety and honesty, I will write an order for "ordering the good and prohibiting the evil" for all the people of Baghdad, and give it to them. I have also made them hopeful by promises of reward and favours and frightened them by scoldings and my terror, so that they may with all their solicitude apply themselves to their duties as judicial officers and muhtasibs. They are to obliterate the sins, which have become prevalent in Baghdad by the blows of their swords, whipping, imprisonment, chains, severe punishments and, in fact, by any means, that are available to them, provided it is not forbidden by any religion. They are to arrange matters in such a way that nothing obscene or forbidden comes before the public eye, and that everything that comes before the public eyes is approved by the Shariat, and not prohibited by it."

The Commander of the Faithful ordered pen and ink, wrote his command in the presence of the assembly and gave it to the muhtasibs and judicial officers, so that they could obey it in "ordering the good and prohibiting the evil" and might not exceed or transgress its instructions.

Copy of the Order which the Commander of the Faithful, Mamun, wrote in the Assembly of Religious Scholars with reference to the Inhabitants of Baghdad for making effective the Ordering of the Good and the Prohibition of the Unlawful and gave to the Censors and Judicial Officers for the Purpose of Enforcement.

By the support of Allah and by virtue of His Grace!

F.128a

Praises (to Allah) and benedictions (on His Prophet)!

"I, Mamun son of Harun ur-Rashid, who am ruler of the world by virtue of succession, right, hereditary descent and attainment do hereby order the judicial officers and muhtasibs, who have been appointed over the people of Baghdad, to order the good and prohibit the evil and to remove from amongst the people the vices and obscenities, which have arisen in Baghdad, the Darus Salaam, on account of calamities and misfortunes resulting from the contention of the two brothers for the caliphal throne, in the way detailed in this order, and to bring the people back to the path of obedience to the Shariat.

(First,)[474] it is ordered that the servants of the capital and all the people of Baghdad, in fact the entire population of the Muslim world, are to hold as honoured, dignified, venerable and respectable the men of the tribe of Bani Hashim, who are the kith and kin of the Prophet (peace and praise be on him), especially the Abbasids to whom the Caliphate of the Muslim community has been solely confined and in particular the Saiyyids whose (descent)[475] from, and (relationship)[476] to, the Prophet is certain. They are to strive under all circumstances for their dignity and honour. They are not to permit the humiliation and disgrace of any of their descentants. They are to consider paying honour and respect to them to be among their religious duties and a way of doing homage to the Prophet of the Lord of the World. F. 128b.
They are to regard injuring or treating them cruelly to be as bad as kufr and kafiri. In accordance with the word of God

out of one-fifth of the spoils of war from the Bait ul-Mal, the amount after having been converted into cash is to be delivered to them at their houses for their maintenance in proportion to the allotted share of each. They are to have precedence in seating over all my helpers, supporters, courtiers and high officers among the dignitaries of the realm. In other assemblies and meetings ulemas, shaikhs, wazirs, maliks and the nobles and celebrated men of Baghdad are to sit below them. The nobles and the commons of Baghdad, the dar us-salaam are to pay due regard to their dignity and pomp, and to deem that the salvation of the Mussalmans, both of the nobles and the commons, is to be obtained through the honour and respect paid to them.

Concerning the scholars of the Sunni community and the shaikhs of the Tariqat in Baghdad, it is ordered that they are to be respected in the capital and the whole of Baghdad, and honour and respect paid to them is to be considered as a part of religion. They are to know that the laws of the Orthodox faith are embellished by their words and deeds, and that the elevation of the rites of Islam is due to the honour paid to them. The religious scholars and shaikhs are, in accordance with the instructions of the Chief Qazi of F.129a the empire, Yahya Aksam, and the lists of the sheiks of Islam, the chief mystic, to be paid as much as is necessary and sufficient for them, so that their lives may be passed in the best of conditions, and they may not have to face that (dire)

need, which humiliates both learning and the scholar. Those busy in acquiring (religious) knowledge and mode of action are to get maintenance grants sufficient for the requirements of a middling standard (of life) from the Bait ul-mal according to the amounts specified by Hasan Sahl, the Wazir. The schools are to be kept full and packed with teachers, reciters (of Quran) and seekers of knowledge, and the khanqahs with shaikhs, devotees, mystics and their disciples. In the schools as well as the khanqahs food is to be served at meal-times and money spent on the food is to be realised separately from the Bait ul-Mal every year. No other sciences are to be taught in the schools except Tafsis, Hadis and Fiqh. If any teacher gives instructions in Innovations or any student shows inclination to the study of Innovations, their stipends and food are to be stopped, and they are to be exiled from Baghdad to distant lands. The Shaikhs are to guide their disciples and devotees on the pattern of the Companions and their s successors, and religious scholars are not to show their inclination for Innovations.

Concerning the holy warriors and victors, this stipendary order is given, that sufficient salaries, benefits and means are to be provided to them according to their F.129b status and posts from the Bait ul-Mal of the Mussalmans in cash as fixed and determined by the Ministry of War at the Capital and at the order of the Minister of War. Due respect and honour are to be paid to the holy warriors whether in the

Capital or in the whole of Baghdad, for they are the protectors of the 'Islamic Pale' and of the inhabitants of the Muslim countries. They sacrifice themselves in the path of God and overthrow the enemies of God and His Prophet. If any holy warrior is seen indulging in sin or wickedness openly and (publicly)[477], his name is to be removed from the register of salaries and the list of gifts, so that the victors and the holy warriors of the Capital of the caliphate may be awakened and warned by the humiliation and disgrace of the scoundrels and evil-doers; and they may not have to confound the dignity of holy wars and holy campaigns with the abasement of sinfulness.

Concerning the learners of Quran by heart, Imams of mosques, muezzins (proclaimers of prayer-calls), teachers of Quran and reading and writing, floor-cleaners of mosques, barbers, and water-carriers and their claims, it is ordered that they who are engaged in the service of the Orthodox faith, the advantage of which accrues to the whole Muslim community, are to be paid from the treasury of Endowments in accordance with the fixed orders of the administrators of Endowments in the kingdom.

Teachers of every kind are to be structly ordered F.130a not to thrust precious stones down the throats of dogs or to put collars of gold round the necks of pigs and bears - that is, the mean, the ignoble, the worthless, bazaar loafers, the low-born and the slanderers. They are not to be taught anything

more than the rules about prayer, fasting, Zakat and the Haj along with some chapters of the Quran and some doctrines of the Faith, so that their religious faith may be set right and permission for prayers is given to them. They are to be taught nothing more, lest it may bring honour to their wicked souls. They are not to be taught reading and writing, for a good deal of disorders arise owing to the skill of the low-born in knowledge. The disorder into which all religious and governmental affairs are thrown is due to the words and deeds of the low-born, who become skilled. On account of their skill they become governors, revenue-collectors, accountants, officers and rulers. If the teachers are disobedient, and it is discovered at the time of investigation that they have imparted knowledge or taught writing to the low-born, inevitably the punishment for their disobedience is to be meted out to them.

Concerning jewellers, cloth-merchants, moulders (of gold), sellers of gold, bankers, goldsmiths, manufacturers of military arms and craftsmen of finer arts, it is ordered that they are to adopt the path and side of truth and justice in whatever they purchase, sell, manufacture and repair. They are under no circumstances to resort to shameless corruption in buying and selling, or cheat or cause loss to ignorant persons, villagers and minors. They are not to deceive F.130b and swindle them. They are to be content with small profits and are not to resort to buying at low prices and selling at high prices. It is ordered that the heads of those groups,

who are engaged in skilled crafts, are to be warned three times, severely and harshly, about (the commands concerning) buying and selling. If they do not desist in spite of this and do not come to the path of rectitude and justice, then after due consideration of circumstances as well as persons and the (amount of) crime and wrong-doing, they are to be punished with confiscation of their property. The utterers of false coins and swindlers are not to be permitted to buy or sell or to sit in shops.

Concerning usurers, regraters, caravan-merchants and dealers of silk-cloth, it is ordered that under no conditions and in no case are the Mussalmans to pay usury. (The taking of) pure usury, which is the dirtiest of all sins, is not to be given the name of business or called lawful. In no religion it is approved, that a grain of barley be sold for five hundred tankas or a handkerchief for a thousand tankas and that usury be taken under this pretext. If the usurer happens to be a Mussalman, he is to be more severly handled and to be subjected to greater humiliation, But if the usurer is a kafir or a mushrik, he is to be asked to have regard for the limit in taking usury, and to be lenient in realising his loan. With regard to usury bearing loans, the Qazis ought not to imprison the lenders who have given the loan. F.131a Regraters are prohibited from regrating, which is an obstacle to people's livelihood, by the most severe measures. If they

do not refrain from it, their grain is to be burnt in corn-markets. Regrating is not to be permitted under any circumstances, for it causes an injury to the public and specially to the Mussalmans. It causes loss to the seller from the view-point of religion, and the buyer from the worldly point of view. No day ought to pass without the judicial officers, muhtasibs and market-officers coming to the markets with their entire ferocity and dignity and inquiring as to how things from precious stones, pearls and cloth, to combs, shoes, and needles, are obtained and at what price they are sold. Certainly they are to make inquiries and from the sellers....."[478]

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(Nasihat No. XII.) F.133b

(On the Ruler's Inborn Justice and on his Quest for 'Individual Equality' and 'Public Equality' in Judicial Administration).

.... does not pass appear in his mind and the thought of oppression does not cross his mind. And if there is no inborn justice in the ruler, and that which is sometimes exhibited is shown with hesitation, perseverance, greed, expediency and fear, then neither justice nor equity can be expected from him. As prophets and angels are created entirely for devotion to God, and sinning is the opposite of devotion, so nothing except devotion comes out for them and they are incapable of committing sins. In fact, prophets pray even after their death for (it has been said): 'The prophets say their prayers even in their graves'. 480 But those who have not been created (exclusively) for worship and offer their devotions (to God) with perseverance and effort, sometimes worship is witnessed from them and sometimes sins are observed.

Wise men have described several characteristic features of inborn justice.

The first is this, that kinship with the oppressed, protection of the weak, hatred for the unjust and enmity towards oppressors is engraved in the hearts of the possessor of inborn justice.

The second characteristic feature of inborn justice is

that while giving a judgment on the punishment of his enemies and ill-wishers, no desire of revenge crops up in his heart; he does not consider retaliation to be permissible, and does not tolerate any injustice being committed on him.

Thirdly, no negligence, no overlooking or consideration appears in his heart while dispensing justice.

The fourth distinguishing feature of correct judgment is that while passing judgment his heart trembles and shivers with fear lest the oppressed ~~agent~~ might be punished. F.134a

The fifth characteristic feature is that while enforcing

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justice no influence of (near) or distant relations is able to catch hold of his skirt, and the virtue of justice overcomes his commendable mercy and compassion.

The sixth characteristic feature is that in the enforcement of judicial orders he is not afraid of the reproaches of the reproacher or the accusations of the accuser, and his heart pays no attention either to the eulogy of the eulogist or the revilings of the reviler.

The seventh characteristic feature is that no (consideration of) personal injury or that of his realm is able to prevent him from dispensing justice.

The eighth characteristic feature is that the possessor of inborn justice acts in obedience to obligatory divine prescriptions; his mind is always in search of justice alone and he is unable to give peace and contentment to his mind by incitements(of others) and stratagem.

The ninth characteristic feature of inborn justice is, that he is vigorous about other's suits, but in his own he prefers forgiveness, and it is in such an action of his that inborn justice shines like the sun.

The tenth characteristic feature is, that until he has exacted the claims of the weak from the strong and given them their rights, he finds neither peace nor solace in his heart.

The eleventh characteristic feature of the possessor of inborn justice is, that his mind is always unable to accept the help of anyone lest this help of the subjects may not haunt his mind and he is frightened.

The twelfth characteristic feature is that externally the possessor of justice seeks equity, but in hia heart he is compassionate and merciful, and this quality is a wonder of wonders.

F.134b

The thirteenth characteristic feature is, that wrath is away from him and while issuing his orders he is not excited by his vein of fury and ~~haughtiness~~, brutishness

The fourteenth characteristic feature is, that his mind is averse to disgracing the honour of the just and defaming the peaceful (Mussalmans), and as his orders affect the honour and the chastity of the Mussalmans, he detests rulership.

The fifteenth characteristic feature is that, his mind rejects and his ears loathe the hearing of deceits, lies, excuses and trickeries and the touch-stone of intelligence for distinguishing the false from the true shines within his breast.

The sixteenth characteristic feature is, that whenever the case of a subject of his realm comes before him, his desire is that the case should be decided in accordance with his orders in his presence.

The seventeenth characteristic feature of inborn justice is that, love for the man endowed with justice is inscribed in the hearts of the nobles and the commons, and his existence fully strengthens the hearts of men. Even though if injuries are caused by his orders, the hearts of those obedient to him do not develop hatred.

The eighteenth characteristic feature is, that his heart beats restlessly, if he hears that tyranny and oppression have been done to anyone in either East or West.

The nineteenth characteristic feature is, that his mind is always absorbed in the thought as to how oppression is to be obliterated and by what means oppressors are to be rendered powerless in this world.

The twentieth characteristic feature of inborn justice is that on desirable occasions it strictly guards against, "Punishment on the basis of doubt", and employs it for the peaceful, but in the case of oppressors, sinners and iniquitous men, who by their very character and temperament are oppressive, sinful, and wicked, it does not make use of doubt. F.135a

According to the kings of to-day, and yesterday, the meaning of justice is creating equality and seeking equality between the two litigants.

The religious scholars of the past have divided the quest for equality, which is the concern of rulers into two kinds in the Orthodox faith. They have named one kind 'quest for individual equality, and the second, 'quest for public equality', takes into consideration a king or a caliph.

The quest for individual equality, which is confined to enforcing equality between the plaintiff and the defendant and is known in this phraseology all over the world, means that the Caliph, king, qazi, governor, ruler, commander, or anyone who for any reason has the power of decision in his hands seeks to enforce equality between the plaintiff and the (defendant).[482] He treats them equally during the trial with reference to speech and action, sitting and standing and does not tolerate partiality to either party for any cause. At the time of giving his judgment he has no regard for the strong or the rich, the governor or the ruler. No (consideration for) the dignity, virtue and merit from the qualities of greatness and distinction prevents him from dispensing justice. While executing orders he (looks)[483] with the same eye at relations and strangers, the pious and the contemptible, the busy and the idle, the rulers and the ruled, the rich and the poor, the nobles and the plebions, supporters and opponents, friends and foes. He accepts no gifts, bribes, presents F.135b or sourvanirs, whether great or small, from either party. No regard for respect due to father, love due to mother, affection due to brothers or compassion due to sons, and no

considerations for the welfare of the kingdom, or fear of the decline of his power or of hostility and opposition, crosses the environs of his mind. He has no regard for propinquity and source, he flatters nobody and listens to no intercession. A person who acts in opposition to the above qualities is (not)[484] called just, but justice means the observance of these qualities. The reward for one hour of justice, which consists in the observance of these qualities is better and more elegant than seventy years of devotion.[485] The recompense for a person who has been created with the virtue of justice, i.e. who has been born from his mother's womb with the quality of justice, and justice has been made the companion of his soul from the very beginning, and who has the ability to dispense such justice for some time, are beyond reckoning and calculation. But he, who is not created with the virtue of justice, will not be able to observe the said conditions in the enforcement of justice.

The second kind of justice is in reality 'the quest for public equality'. It is a necessary element of piety and an (exclusive) feature of the (Orthodox) Caliph's of Mohammedan religion. It came to an end with Siddiq-i Akbar (Abu Bakr), Umar Khattab (Usman)[486] and Ali Murtaza. The radiancy of the 'quest for public equality' has also shone on the forehead of Umar (bin) Abdul Aziz. It is like this. The Caliph or king, though sitting on the imperial throne of Jamshed or Khusrau, the realms of which are obedient to his orders, F.136a

having discharged the obligations of the quest of equality between litigants also seeks to make the (mode)[487] and manner of his life equal to that of the faqirs and poor people of the (Muslim) community. With such power, status, sway and ascendancy, he dwells amidst wants, poverty and privation. He passes the days of his kingship in poverty, death, disappointment and indigence. He keeps himself on an equality with the meanest of the beggars in food and dress. He does not take from the Bait ul-Mal more than what he requires i.e. the bare needs of his life and he seeks equality with his slaves in food and dress. Such quest for equality is known as 'the quest for public equality'. And this, which appears to be the 'unity of opposites' that is, bringing together rulership and poverty has been considered as a miracle of the Leader of the Apostles and a Karamat of the (Orthodox) Caliphs of his Ummat.

Now, O Sons of Mahmud, know, that Maḥmud has known that a thousand persons like him do not have the power or the capacity to bring the name of 'quest for public equality,' which is the essence of justice and a necessary element of piety, on their lips or to govern like kings and live like durweshes, or fully follow the traditions of indigence and poverty in spite of the authority of their kingship, or live on terms of equality with beggars and poor men, or fully follow the durmesh's mode and manner of life and (yet) keep the world under the obedience of their orders. So it is

incumbent upon you and all kings of Islam in general not to have any desire for this quest for public equality. If in spite of your sins and drimes, you wish to attain the F.136b (highest) status in the other world for your souls, strive for the attainment of individual equality to the greatest possible extent, and pursue it so that the praises and applause of this world fall to your lot, and the hope of salvation in the next world is also inscribed on your hearts. You ought not to be slack or negligent in the enforcement of justice and equity. You ought to be well-informed about the justice and oppression of the governors, qazis and officers of your realm. You ought not to fall even by a hair's breadth in seeking 'individual equality'; you ought to remove injustice and tyranny by overthrowing tyrants and humiliating oppressors. You ought to consider justice the purest form of devotion.

Concerning this Nasihat on account of the justice of Umar and the story of Naushirwan's enforcement of equity are appropriate.

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(Anecdote) illustrating the above Nasihat.

The sons of Mahmud ought to know, that Almighty God maintains the sky and the earth through justice. "On Justice stand the Heavens and the Earth". From the time of Adam until to-day the world has remained prosperous through the justice and equity of the just and the equitable. Also the enforcement of the orders of every religion, whether you consider it

true or false, has been only possible through justice. Even those rulers, who have blackened their faces by claims to divinity have taken care to conform their religion, faith, customs and manners to the 'appearance' of justice. F.137a

Historians have written that Umar Khattab, was proverbial for his justice among the Caliphs of Islam, and Naushirwan, the Just was extraordinary in justice among the kings of Ajam. The wise men of Arabia and Ajam are agreed, that after discharging the obligations of 'the quest for individual equality', Umar Khattab also did justice to the 'quest for public equality'. Nausherwan, the Just, strove hard for 'the attainment of individual equality', but he had no share or portion of the 'individual quest for public equality'. The 'quest for individual equality' is an indispensable condition of the 'quest for public equality', but the 'quest for public equality' is not an indispensable condition of the 'quest for individual equality'. The leaders of Arabia and Ajam have this said: "Umar Khattab has been able to behave like Nausherwán, but Nausherwan was unable to act like Umar, for devotion, piety, renunciation of the world and self-sacrifice are necessary for the 'quest for public equality'."

The historians are agreed, that during the time of his Caliphate and rulership Umar Khattab had seventy-seven patches of leaves of gourd on his torn cloak. It mostly happened that, in spite of the grandeur of rulership and the

dignity of sovereign power which he possessed, he earned money for the maintenance of his family by manual labour. Many times he obtained his daily livelihood from his wages for making bricks. Seated on a throne he, to whose authority the choicest parts of the inhabited world were subordinate, passed his days in poverty and starvation. In his manner and mode of livelihood, he equalled the faqirs and poor people F.137b of the Muslim (community). The Companions used to say and inform each other. 488a "The poorest house in Medina is the house of Umar, the Commander of the Faithful". It was a result of his 'quest for public equality', that during his journey to Jerusalem he took turns in riding and walking with his slave. One day he rode, while the slave took hold of the bridle, and on the second day the slave rode while Umar took hold of the camel's bridle and walked on foot. He had no other camel besides this. He marched to Syria with seventy thousand Arab horsemen, but he contented himself with the driving of this one camel. He sent to the Companions and to the leaders of the tribes the delicious food, innumerable kinds of delicacies and fruits, which the landed aristocracy of Ajam and the zamindars of Iraq brought to him in large quantities, but he neither stretched his blessed hands towards these things, nor did he permit his sons to do so. He alighted with his sons in the courtyard of the Juma Mosques in the cities, and would not go near any jesting ~~place~~. In the letters, he wrote to Muslim governors and officers, he

began with these words, "From Abdullah, the Commander of the Faithful, and the servant of the Mussalmans, i.e. he put the term 'servant' opposite to the term 'commander' so that the term 'commander' may not imply singularity of status. And what Umar Khattab did in maintaining 'individual equality' and how he fulfilled its conditions in full, and how he F.138a paid no regard to any propinquity, cause or consideration - all this is too well known to need further description and narration. He had no hesitation in passing a just judgment on his own son, and his fatherly compassion did not prevent him from enforcing the punishment prescribed by the Sharia. Wise men know, that such an equitable man, who is born perfectly just and permits his son to die under the punishment prescribed by the Sharia, will not allow any relationship to catch hold of his hands orto restrain him in the enforcement of the orders of the Sharia.

The Persians (have related) that Naushirwan followed this practice in his rules of justice. In cases of oppression he took the matter in his own hands. Whenever a case concerning oppression reached him, he decided it himself and he never assigned a case concerning dispensation of justice and equity to others, nor used anyone as an arbitrator. He strove to the utmost extent in seeking 'individual equality'. Even if he was riding with the splendour and pomp of a Khosroe and an injured person appealed to him against the tyranny of someone; he gave up the undertaking in hand, alighted immediately from

his horse; sat down on the ground; put the front of his garment in the hand of the injured man and said: "Catch hold of the front portion of my garment firmly and sit down by my side; do not get up from my side and do not let it go from your hand until you have obtained justice." Until the mind of the injured man was pacified and put at ease, Nausherwan would not remount his horse. When the F.138b guilt of the criminal had been proved, even if the criminal happened to be one of the kith and kin, or high officers or courtiers of Nausherwan, the king after enforcing the claims of justice and giving his rights to the oppressed, would dismiss the criminal from all the offices and dignities of the realm; dishonour and disgrace him and compel him to pay compensation to the injured man according to his capacity.

Nausherwan had ordered his chamberlain not to keep the suit of an injured man in suspension. Even if Nausherwan was in his harem the matter was to be brought to him. And Nausherwan, on his part, put aside all other work and business, whenever the case of an aggrieved person was placed before him and gave precedence to the decision of this question. Whenever a supplicant for justice came before him, whether during a court-ceremonial, pleasure-party, hunting or any other business, Nausherwan have up what he was doing and attended to the care of the injured man, and until he had settled it, Nausherwan's own mind was not at peace. The officers of his

body-guard, heralds, chamberlains and army-commanders did not havee the courage to prevent an oppressed man from approaching him. He had made a public proclamation: "Anyone who has a case against me or my court but does not come to demand his rights and obtain all his claims from me, is his own enemy". Whenever anyone from among his subjects brought a suit against him, Nausherwan gave him his full rights (to compensation) and twice as much more as a gift, so that others might be emboldened to bring their suits. By his very nature he considered all tyrants to be his enemies. Due to his very great efforts for 'seeking individual equality', his governors, qazis, and the officers of his realm as well as his F.139a brothers, sons, relations, courtiers and officers of the Court had come to consider justice as an indispensable virtue, and there was an aversion to oppression in the heart of the nobles and the commons. Due to his persistent endeavours and very great efforts, tyranny, cheating and deceitfulness decreased among the inhabitants of the kingdom, and justice appeared in the affairs of the people. Money lenders and merchants were content with meagre profits; people had regard for truthfulness in commercial transactions, and did not resort to open regrating and usury. Due to the blessing of righteousness in the dealings of the people and the (reign of) universal justice among men, there was a (corresponding) abundance of grain, cattle and(fruits) for the subjects of

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of the realm. Security against heavenly calamities and misfortunes also appeared. The people of his kingdom did not take a single grain from their corn stacks before paying king's share and kept justice in view. Until they had paid the government due in full, they did not like to take a single date or a single grape from their gardens for themselves and their children.

Nausherwan had made regulations for the suppression of false suits. If a liar brought false charges against anyone or witnesses gave false evidence against the wealth or property of anybody, then the liar, after his false charge was proved against him, was proclaimed with every justification in government offices, assemblies and market places as such: "This man is a liar", they announced: "He has brought a false charge. Recognise him; note down his features; and record his name in your offices. If after this he lodges any complaints, whether right or wrong, do not listen to him and do not consider his compaint to be valid". F.139b
As to false witnesses, if it was their first offence, they were punished with kicks and public disgrace; if it was their second offence, they were imprisoned for a year; if it was their third offence, they were exiled to distant lands. On account of these punishments, false suits and false witnesses decreased in his kingdom. And during the period of the Khossroes than which how could any time be considered better and more elegant, our prophet Mohammad Mustafa (peace and

blessings be on him) has been born and the sun of his government rose. Some say that the Prophet (peace be on him) remarked: "I was born during the reign of the just king".

O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam on the earth, it is incumbent upon you to abandon your pleasures, hunting and riding one day every week. You are to hold (on that day) your public court in a plain; sit on an elevated place, and settle the affairs of the oppressed yourself. Let it not be that the majesty of your kingship, the sensitiveness of your minds and the richness of your royal rank prevent you from performing such a task, which makes up for the sins of kings and rulers. It is your duty to look to the criminal. If it becomes clear to you that it is his first offence, and that it has been due to error and negligence, compel him with humiliation and disgrace to satisfy the claims of the injured man and then on his repentance, pardon him. But if repeated crimes are proved against him and you see, that crime is ingrained in hus nature, then compel him to give to the F.140a injured his rights with compensation, and drive him out thoroughly from your realm. Know well, that tyranny will not be obliterated from the kingdom until tyrants are extirpated. Organise a group of persons out of all the officers of your kingdom in whom the quest for religion overpowers the quest for this world, so that through their orders you may attain to glory in this world and to salvation in the next. This

is the essence of all precepts; if the kings recognise the value of this precept, they will not be at a loss in this world or the next.

And in the same way as you dispense justice to those, injured publicly, you ought to give justice to those who are injured secretly e.g. infants, immature villagers and(ignorant)[490] persons, whom cunning shop-keepers and knavish (grocers)[491] swindle in buying and selling. They realise cash money (from the former), and give in return for it whatever they like; they have absolutely no regard for fair dealing and equity and they institute dealings with these helpless people in a way as it pleases them. If you can, remove this hidden oppression from your realm through harsh, ill-tempered and reliable investigating officers. Order these officers to fix the prices of commodities on the principle of equity and not to leave the fixing of prices to seller's discretion. The buyers and sellers should not be made rulers over the prices of articles and commodities sold in markets. Everyone, who exceeds the rates fixed by Diwan-i-Riyasat[492] and disobeys them, should be punished and publicly disgraced. If they repeatedly exceed the rates of the Diwan-i-Riyasat, F.140b which have been fixed by the orders of the king who is the supreme ruler, and behave with that shamelessness and impudence, which is the special feature of the avaricious people and (are not)[493] restrained by Tazir and public humiliation, they should be punished with confiscation of property. For

the meaning of kingship, the pillar of kingship and the wisdom, prestige and grandeur of kingship lies in the enforcement of the royal orders. If a group compared to which there appears no other group more obedient, submissive and humble in the realm, disobeys the royal orders, and adopts the profession of the fefractory under the pretence of submission, the king's orders will have no value or credit left before the contumacious, the disobedient, the robust and the rich. The currency of sovereignty withers away, ~~lifeless.~~

Ardsher Babakan, who was a mighty and a wise king, has said: "What sort of a king is he, who subdues the rebellious and the headstrong persons of his realm, and levels to the ground thickly grown and extensive forests, steppes and deserts, and yet the shop-keepers and grocers of his kingdom under the pretence of submission ahd helplessness commit oppression over the innocent, the inexperienced and the villagers in buying and selling? They make their shops like real forests, and in their shops they openly put up mirrors[494].........."

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(Nasihat) XIII.

On Royal Pardon and Punishment.

F.140b.

Sultan Mahmud says: O sons of Mahmud, you should know that the forgiving, overlooking, disregarding and veiling of faults are among the duties and essential requisites of kingship. If the king does not forgive the crimes of his F.141a subjects, overlook and veil the sins of the supporters of his government, or pass over their shortcomings, negligences, slackness, errors and omissions in such a way, that no one among his subjects has any good hope left in him and natural hatred is excited against him among his helpers and supporters, then there will be no permanence for either the king or his realm. 496 In the same way, (if) the king does not subject the cruel, the rebellious, the mischievous, the thief, the insolent, the misappropriator, the usurper, the reckless, the heedless and the designer of wickedness to punishments, chastisements, penalties, bonds and chains, each person will devour another, and no one's wealth, property, wife and children will be secure. The king therefore, ought to know the appropriate occasions ~~for~~ both for pardon and punishment, for pardon and punishment are the basis of all transactions of the government and administrations, and the prop of pardon and punishment is the proper recognition of time and circumstances and the taking care of the affairs of religion and government. If a king in his pardon and punishments pays no regard to these things, his kingdom will be founded on desire and passion, and this

will lead to his chastisement and humiliation (in the next life). For it is because of the fear of royal pardon and punishments that the elements of hope and fear among the subjects, which are the pillars of good order and administration, are inscribed, and remain inscribed on the hearts of the nobles and the commons of the country. And if the king is all forgiving and kind, the obedient men in the kingdom will turn into rebels. If on the other hand the king is all punishment and violence his wives, sons, sincere well-wishers and friends will[497] turn into his enemies; his kingdom will begin to (decline); he will be driven to despair of his life, and none of his royal desires will be fulfilled. The king will become an enemy of the people and the people enemies of the king, and the prosperity of his kingdom will turn into distress on account of his very great punishments.

F.141b

Moreover kings ought to know that the correct meaning of <u>siyasat is putting right the affairs of the world</u>. Various kinds of <u>siyasats</u> are needed so that the world may be set right; people may be established on the path of justice and equity; truth may be established at the centre; the hearts of the select and the commons may be pacified, and the king may become secure from the people and the people from the king. One variety of this consists in benevolence, compassion, favours, gifts, rewards, bounties and kindness, for through such dealings many people of the

kingdom are set right, become prosperous and remain prosperous. In the technique of royal administration this kind (of dealing) is also known as siyasat. Another variety of siyasat consists in insulting, disgracing, dismissing, withdrawing favour and confiscating property, for this policy also leads to the setting right of a group and warns a large number of other persons. Another variety of siyasat consists in the (infliction of) blows in order to humilate and admonish. This kind also......... puts on the right path and be (admonished, scolded and distressed), and many are frightened and warned. Another variety of siyasat consists in bonds, chains, confinement and restraint, which administrative expediency demands for a group of men. This conduces to the good order of the kingdom, sets right revenue-offenders, and frightens others. Another variety of siyasat is exile, and exile is of numerous kinds. As a matter of expediency kings exile some persons from their capitals to a part of their kingdom and assign them villages and pensions in accordance with their status. They(exile) others for a fixed period; remove them from their positions near (the throne), and send them to villages far or near. A few are also exiled to distant lands. All these three kinds of exile are political punishments (siyasat-i-mulki)

[498] F.142a

Especially and particularly kings ought not to resort to

the shedding of a Believer's blood or to the killing of Mussalmans for every little cause unless there is a ground which Sharia sanctions. So long as imprisonment, bonds, exile and other Tazirs are effective, the lives of Mussalmans ought not to be taken and their blood ought not to be shed.

The kings of olden times have said: "A necessary virtue of kingship is the recognition of claims. If a king does not recognise the claims of his people, his royal designs will not prosper; no trace of him will remain in(memoirs) of administration and he will not attain to salvation in the next world". Several distinguishing features of a king, who recognises claims, have been described. The essence of the king's recognition of claims, is, that he passes his life in obedience to the orders and prohibitions of God. That he should be guilty of error, negligence or sin is a different matter; but he ought not to be haughty towards God and His Prophet in his religious and worldly affairs. With reference to his brothers, wife, children, old friends and old well-wishers, the king's recognition of claims means that on becoming king he deals with them in all the affairs of life, subject of course to the maintenance of his own royal dignity, a thousand times better than he did before. He discharges the obligations of each one of them in accordance with his royal capacity, but not in such an excess, that he is unable to answer to-morrow on the Day of

F.142b

Judgment. A king's recognition of claims with reference to the helpers and supporters of his kingdom, his courtiers and the grandees of his court and the well-wishers and loyal men of the realm means that apart from the security which exists between them and the king, the king veils and overlooks their faults and does not disgrace them for every triviality, and that if others wish to attain to their favoured positions, this will not be possible for them to achieve.

Whenever the king undertakes a task, and if that task is not accomplished, then after that no governmental undertaking will be realised according to his wishes, because kings and wazirs have discovered this fact by trial and experience.

The great men of the religion and the realm of Mustafa have said: "Every king who understands well the meaning of the Quranic verse, "God is the forgiver of sins, the acceptor of repentance and severe in His punishments"[499] will also know the occasions for forgiveness and (punishment) and system and good order will appear during his reign, and through this governmental policy, he will attain to (salvation)[500] and high spiritual grades".

F.145a

The meaning of this verse is, that God is the forgiver of sins and the acceptor of repentance and very strict in His chastisement.

Our object is that the Almighty is the Real King and that

earthly kings are the playthings of destiny and fate. In His own government God forgives some sinners and accepts the repentance of others and is strict on them. Some He will punish in the next world and whom he does not punish in this world; others he punishes in this world and will not punish in the next.[501] Some He nurtures under His (oppression) and others he keeps under the pavilion of His kindness, compassion and favours. Some He elevates to the throne of honour and greatness, delight and pleasure, others He lowers to the dust of dishonour and disgrace. To a few He grants wealth and prosperity; some He maintains in a moderate position, others He keeps in penury (apopolexy) through poverty and starvation. He causes injury to some and others He puts to death. He exercises His Lordship with every class, group, tribe and people in various ways in accordance with His mature judgment and thereby keeps the world organised and in good order. He is the Real King, and to Him alone kingship suits.

<u>The Lord of the World knows how to maintain the world,</u>
<u>How to mow down one and to nurture another.</u> F. 143b.

The <u>Sunnah</u> of God ought to be followed in the fleeting moments of earthly rulership. There are various kinds of created men in this world; and the king ought to deal with every type, kind, class, group, body and tribe of mankind according to its activities, qualities, professions, crafts, habits and prictices.

He ought to treat the virtuous and the obedient with compassion, and the submissive with kindness, the well-wishers with connivance, the deficient by overlooking (their deficiences) the negligent by veiling (their negligencies) the commissioners of petty and minor offences and those guilty of sensual sins by forgivemess, and the stubborn, the contumacious, the refractory, the seducers, the sinners, the seditioners, the revolters, the rebels, the oppressors, the usurpers, the thieves, the highwaymen, the materialists, the robbers, the disobedient, the agitators, the knaves, and the impudent persons with different punishmnets. In every punishment due regard ought to be paid to its limits; and, so far as possible restraint should be exercised in the taking of human lives, for "*man is the handmaid of God*". Efforts ought to be made that the *Sharia* Qisas[501a], Hudud and Tazir are not transgressed. Of course (kings) have not acted in the matter of inflicting punishments in accordance with the precepts of any religious jurisconsult.

But if through punishing any of the above groups of people the object is not attained, then after considerable reflection and hesitation, the death penalty has been permitted. And to the people at large *siyasat* is only 'death penalty'. There are a number of views about 'death penalty'. The slaying of man is forbidden in all religions, and the killing of a Mussalman, except in accordance with the laws of the *Sharia* is extremely dangerous though at the time of inflicting F.144a

the death punishment it may seem easy and simple. Further in all different kinds of punishments, knowledge of the occasion is necessary. An indispensable feature of the religious faith of Muslim Kings is guarding against the infliction of death penalty so far as it is possible for them.

Illustrious kings, who were God-fearing and religious have said: "Kingship cannot be properly exercised without pardon and punishment". He alone can be called a far-sighted king, who knows well the occasion for pardon and punishment, and has a proper comprehension of the amount of pardon and punishment (to be given), and who at the time of issuing his orders and enforcing his commands has proper regard for the stability of the affairs of his kingdom. Thus if a man can be put right through kindness and favours and they treat him with severity and harshness or put him in bonds and chains, then this is not called siyasat, but disorder and demoralisation. Similarly, if in order to set right the affairs of the kingdom, it is necessary to put a man in bonds, or to put him to death, or to exile him, but if instead they assign him a province or make him a courtier and shower favours on him, then by such siyasat they will ruin the edifice of their kingdom. Moreover if before putting the affairs of their government on a sound footing they wish to (execute)[502] their orders for punishments at a time when the minds of the nobles and the commons are not settled about the execution of (punishments),[503]

and they do not consider their minor faults as crimes in their big undertakings, but seek to obtain their own claims in full, then they do not knock down their oppressions, 503a (obstinancy), going to extremes, satisfaction of their wrath and the appeasement of their own fury. If for some reason the king has been cruel to one of his courtiers, then the F.144b injured man's anger ought to be removed from his heart with perfect conciliation. The king should live with the helpers and supporters of his kingdom in such a way that his pomp is not reduced and they are also not dishonoured, and this is a conclusive proof of his perfect intelligence, but it is a difficult and an extremely difficult task.

The king's recognition of the claims of old servants and slaves consists in keeping them honoured and respected, but not that he raises them to high offices without personal merits, for this leads to their ruin and to the (ruin) 504 of their kingdom. The affairs of the kingdom are not made stable through excessive (favours) without due cause, because favours and gifts should be in accordance with the honour, that is due, and in proportion to the various services rendered. Falling short in (recognising the services) of old (servants) leads to bad reputation and distrust; excessive favours to the undeserving lead to injustice, deviation from the right path, lack of insight and poor policy. The king's

recognition of claims with respect to the nobles of his kingdom, who are adorned with intrisic qualities, but who have no claims of personal service on him, implies that he should create honour and respect for them among the people at his gate and court in proportion to their merits, and that he should make them the sincere well-wishers of his realm through association and favours,

The king's recognition of claims with respect to his subjects is this, that he forgives their crimes, accepts their repentance, refrains from fault-finding and minute inquiries and does not keep them in insupportable suffering. He should always look upon them with a compassionate eye, and make the generality of his subjects his well-wishers through the plenitude of his justice and benificience. Whenever the king is known by evidence for the recognition F145a. of the claims of his people and for keeping his promises then the affairs of his kingdom are put on a firm footing and his subjects and his army become his well-wishers and supporters. Religious scholars have said: "Every king who deals with his subjects in accordance with the said Quranic verse, obtains happiness in his life-time with regard to his kingdom, and after his death his name survives on this earth. God says "If moreover He should chastise men according to their deserts, He would not leave even a reptile on the back of the earth" i.e. If God takes into account all those men who have adopted sinning as their

profession, no (living being)[505] will be spared alive on the surface of the earth. That is to say God forgives and pardons and does not catch hold. The kings ought to know that (mankind)[506] has inherited sins and crimes from (Adam)[507]. The Prophet (peace be on him) says: "The entire progeny of Adam, whether it commits wrong or not will be forgiven "That is to say all the sons of Adam commit wrongs, but the best among them (are) those who repent for their wrongs. Nevertheless man has been created a victim of his sensual self and Satan has been made dominant over him. Consequently, if the king looks into every fault and offence of his subjects far and near, and does not ignore the criminals and the offenders or connive at the wrongdoers, the ignorant and the stupid or wishes to seek vengeance from those who are involved in sin and are the victims of vanity, then he will be extracting the breath of the inhabitants of his kingdom and the string of administration will be loosened. Since the victims of vice in the country are beyond computation, F.145b so if the king with all resolute courage devotes himself to detailed investigations and fault-finding, no one among the nobles and the commons will escape his censures and punishments. But through his excessive censures and punishments wnmity towards the king will be inscribed on the hearts of the subjects, and in consequence of this enmity the king will receive both administrative and financial injuries. Just as on the one hand, the king is entitled to submission.

obedience and good-will of the subjects, the subjects on the other hand are entitled to pardon, forgiveness of faults, veiling (of faults), connivance, very great protection, compassion, kindness and assistance from the king. When obligations are discharged equally by both parties, the governmental affairs and administrative employments are well instituted and executed.

The kings ought to know that they have no authority to increase or decrease the Tazir, Had and Qisas, which have been prescribed for the Muslims by the Sharia. On the contrary the king's piety and his duty of protecting the faith consists in this, that he so helps and assists his governers and officers and so appoints these pious men for the enforcement of the Sharia that its orders are executed without any dissimulation. They should have no soft corner for anyone or look at anyone's rank or dignity. They should not transgress the rulings of the written narrations, which have reached us from religious scholars, and should not resort to trickery and (false) interpretations. They should bring to royal notice the matters in which the Sharia cannot be enforced. And they should enforce the Sharia among the seventy two sects so that it becomes a source of the salvation and deliverence of the sovereign head. F.146a.

But the misfortune which confronts a religious king and the difficulty, which faces him are those punishments which appertain to governmental business and the welfare of the kingdom.

[507a] No clear precept has been (received) in this respect from the religious scholars of the four (Sunni) sects. All that is found is the precept that political punishments [508] (rest) on the judgement of the king. There can be no greater or more painful embarrassment for the kings of Islam in their wordly affairs than this, that they have to turn their backs on the word of God and His Prophet and that without the permission of the _Sharia_ but on the basis of their own judgment they shed the [509] (blood) of a (reciter) of the Oath of Affirmation, which God has forbidden, that they would have to turn their faces away before the divine throne because of the [510] (answer) for shedding the blood of Mussalmans in the interests of the well-being and permanency of their ephemeral kingdom, and that they think that the preservation and good order of their individual soul, the glory of their royal affairs, the honour and pomp of their personal affairs are identical with the welfare and security of the whole world.

The first kind is known as the '_Qisas_ of the _Sharia_' and this kind is known as 'Capital punishment for political reasons.' According to (Sultan) Mahmud all the pleasures of this world do not equal the heavy burdon of this load. One drop of the blood of a Believer in the Unity of God, which is shed unjustly, is not worth all the pomp of monarchy and the lustre and magnificence of kingship.

The sons of Mahmud are to know that punishments, the responibility of which religious scholars have entrusted to the care of kings and the limits of which have not been fixed are of various kinds. F.146b.

One kind of punishment concerns conspirators and tricksters against the king. They conspire and commit fraud against the king and a small or a large number of them get together to revolt against him. But the king discovers the conspiracy before they resort to rebellion and deception and their plans and agreements are revealed and proved conclusively. Such rebels, whether ten, twenty or many more are put to death by the king in the interest of his own individual welfare and that of those on whom his welfare is dependent, for the warning of his other subjects and for putting right the affairs of his kingdom regardless of the fact, that they are Mussalmans and that they have not actually revolted. The judgment of the king demands the death of such a group and their repentance is not accepted. Religious scholars have no clear verdict about those who make plots to rebel. They have said in substance that questions of capital punishment are assigned to the judgment of kings. The Sharia does not permit capital punishment unless a man unlawfully kills another or apostacises or commits adultery with a (married) woman.[511] But there is no wording of the Quran, nor any Hadis of the

prophet nor a specific precept from any religious scholar for the infliction of the death penalty for merely planning and jointly deciding to kill and to revolt kings put to death for their personal good and that of their helpers and supporters, because this serves as an admonition and a warning to others. Nevertheless such capital punishments, F.147a though they may appear conductive to the welfare of the king and his government and (may serve)as a warning to others, yet[512] they are extremely troublesome from the religious point of view, for Mussalmans are put to death merely on account of their intentions and their repentance is not accepted.

Another type of punishment concerns a group of Mussalmans, who without any cause for suspician revolt against a caliph or a king, who is neither a usurper nor a (forcible seizer)[513]. They take up their swords, revolt, resort to force, fight battles, and wage wars against the army of Islam and without any necessity plunder and desolate the subjects, so that the people are distressed and scattered. Concerning such traitors as are killed in battles against the army of Islam, there is no difference of opinion among any of the scholars of the Sharia. But there is a difference of opinion about this. If they are captured alive and repent, should their repentance be accepted or not? In these circumstances the judgment of a king requires that, in order to keep others on the right path by admonition, the repentance of such people

ought not to be accepted, and that they be put to death.

Religious kings have had various opinions about the punishment of traitors and rebels, who are captured. One opinion is that all prisoners should not be put to death, and that a distinction should be made between the virtuous and the wicked. They have set free people, in whom the tendency towards peacefulness had appeared, and who had joined the seditious people through necessity or else they were entrapped. This rule applies to followers, slaves, servants, street loafers and the like, who join together in all revolts. The mischievious, again, have been divides into two kinds, the zealots and the contumacious. They have put to death all those people, who have repeatedly created disorder and revolted and who are constantly conspiring to revolt. But they have not killed but merely exiled or imprisoned under the charge of their loyal supporters, those whose repentance they considered worthy of acceptance, and those who entered into rebellion and revolt rarely.

F147b

They (religious kings) have also distinguished between persons, who have merely revolted, disobeyed and withdrawn themselves to a corner, and those who have actually shed blood, plundered cities and attacked the banner of Islam. With respect to the first group, they have mitigated their punishments in various ways. They have dealt rigorously with persons of the second group in proportion to their

misdemeanors, crimes, plunder, oppression and tyranny. So far as putting matters on the right path has been possible through other means, religious kings have not shed the blood of Mussalmen prisoners. They have refrained from shedding blood and have accepted repentance of believers in the Unity of God who, apart from merely revolting and disobeying, have neither shed anybody's blood, nor plundered the property and wealth of the Mussalmans, nor injured the wives and children of the people, nor attacked the banner of Islam.

The sons of Mahmud ought to know that the ambition for dominion and love of kingship belongs to a world in which at the time of executing the orders of government, the Sharia-seeing eyeball is blinded. But fear of God, fear of the Day of Judgment and fear of being punished hereafter F148a belong to a different world. But in whatever condition the king may be, the obligations of his True Faith do not permit, that he should in his insolence turn his back on the laws of the Sharia, and issue whatever orders his passions demand concerning the honour and the chastity of the Mussalmans.

Another kind of punishment is that which kings inflict because of the perfection of their religion, and concerning which they (do not)[514] accept the repentance of criminals. The kings are rewarded for this, though there is a differnce of opinion about it among religious scholars. Thus calimants to prophethood are put to death and their blood is shed without

any hesitation. Similarly, if a man calls himself a Mussalman, but employs his tongue in abusing and reviling the prophet or refers to him in insulting and contemptuous terms, it becomes obligatory on the kings of Islam not to leave him alive on the earth for a single moment and to put him to death in the worst of ways, and his repentance should not be accepted under any conditions. Though some scholars have differed concerning a <u>zimmi</u> who is a reviler of the Prophet, the correct opinion is, that he should be flogged and not left alive. The death penalty and the shedding of blood have also been prescribed as the punishment for abusing other prophets, but there is a difference of opinion in this case as to whether the criminal's repentance should be accepted or not. As for example if a Mussalman tramples the Quran or a book of the Prophet's (peace be on him) Traditions under his feet or insults them in any way, or drinks wine openly in the Juma Mosque, or is guilty of adultery or (open) sodomy, or drinks wine publicly during the month of Ramazan, or has sexual relations with a [515] (child), or commits forcination within the prohibited degrees of relationship like the accursed heretics (mulahida), well, these sorts of criminals have been put to death in order to assist the Faith and to warn the general public lest these practices might become common.

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Persons eating during the Ramazan month, even if they eat openly, are not/to be put to death, for there is a possibility that they may have a (legitimate) excuse. They are to be reprimanded and punished and not let alone. concerning the 515a (destroyers) of the tenets of Islam, no mercy or compassion whatsoever has been prescribed.

As to the punishment of those, who cause injury to the sultan, if the injurer is a kafir, mushrik or zimmi, they have slaughtered him. But if he is a Mussalman, there are (different) opinions about it. It has to be taken into consideration, (first), whether the matter comes within the scope of the Sharia or not. In either case there is no death penalty for it. But concerning a non-Sharia matter, there is neither death penalty nor a Tazir, but there is a Tazir with regard to the matters coming within the scope of the Sharia. Also there is one kind of Tazir for the (nobles) and a different one for the commons. In some contingencies the Tazir for the nobles is more strict, whereas for the commons it is a milder one. In other contingencies the Tazir for the commons is more severe than for the nobles, but they are more varied for the nobles as compared with those for the commons. A knowledge of the occasion is necessary for punishing the reviler.

Religious scholars have said: "If the reviler of the king or violater of his orders is also to be put to death, there is left no difference in this respect between the king F149a

and the prophets of mankind, and this would be a defiance against the saying of the Prophet (peace be on him), For the Prophet (peace be on him) has said, that the accuser and the reviler of prophets are to be put to death, but the accuser and reviler of the Companions are to be flogged and imprisoned". From this Hadis religious scholars have argued and concluded, that he who abuses Abu Bakr is to be kicked and then imprisoned and he who abuses Ayesha is to be put to death. Similarly he, who abuses all other wives of the Prophet (peace be on him) is also to be put to death, for the abuses to the Mothers of the Faithful apply to the Prophet (peace be on him) and (in fact) it is he who is abused.

But for offences and misappropriations appertaining to the money of the Baitul Mal in which all Mussalmans are partners, there is neither death penalty nor amputation of hands. If the charge is proved with evidence the money should be demanded back. But if in spite of facts the traitor makes excuses, then harsh treatment and courseness have been extended to him. But in harsh treatment and severity, such as imprisonment, bonds and chains, limits are observed. The estimate (of the crime) should be according to the good and bad character, virtues and vices of men. Because if the thieves of the Baitul Mal, who join its service at first to embezzle, make misappropriation their profession and industry

and commit serious inroads upon the treasury, and the king observes this misappropriation, and does not get the misappropriated money back through chains and imprisonment, there will be confusion in the Baitul Mal. Further no confidence will be left intthe king, to whose (judgment and discretion)[516] the collection and expenditure of its money is assigned as the custodian of the Baitul Mal. Respect for the sovereign power will vanish (from)[517] man's minds. This will lead to confusion in the enforcement of orders; no stability will be left in the affairs of government, and chaos in administration will appear.

F.149b

The sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam ought to know, that the guilts of criminals are diverse. There are in particular two categories of political offences, first, those from which there is a danger of downfall of the state and secondly those which bring disgrace and contempt to the honour and grandeur of kingship.

The tyrants and pharoahs of ancient days, who had turned aside their faces from submission (to God) and advanced claims to divinity, inflicted capital punishments for both categories of crimes. They killed thousands and hundreds upon thousands and had no consideration or regard for the multitude they slew. But the kings of Islam, who consider kingdom to be the sword of religion, ought not to follow the insolent tyramts. The (Muslim) Sultans of the past who were proverbial for their constancy in religion, reflected

carefully about punishing the Mussalmans. Their punishments were of various kinds.

They did not drive the generality criminals with the same stick. They hesitated and reflected upon the matter in different ways and shivered like a willow at the very thought of putting a Mussalman to death and slaughtering a Believer in the Unity of God. When they found that sedition on the part of the criminal was conclusively proved (added) and no other alternative punishment by which his life could be saved was available, while it was proved that his crime was extremely grevious and heinous, then they put a few people to death with a view to warning the public. Nevertheless they tremble in fear at the punishment thay had inflicted so long as they lived. If the innocence of a person was proved after he had been put to death, they instituted dealings with his heirs, gave his blood-money to them and nurtured them under their wings of compassion. They were not keen about inflicting the death penalty under every pretext and they did not take matters to extremes. They did not kill ten men for the sins of a single person. After having put a man to death, they did not cause injury (to his relations) because the punishment of the (righteous)[518] and the culprit is different from the overthrow and extermination of the Slain Man's family and turning their backs on the Quranic verse. "No one bears the burden of

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another". They have not cast a hundred men or a thousand men into afflictions for the sins of one man paying no heed whatsoever to the punishments of the next world. All this is non fearance of God and showing haughtiness towards Sharia.

Religious scholars have stated concerning the intracacy of putting a Mussalman to death without the sanction of the Sharia. That a powerful king ought to be constant in religion, defender of the Faith, of true (religious) convictions and possessor of (right) judgment, so that he finds the fear of God and the Sharia of Mustaja in himself and the welfare of the inhabitants of the kingdom forms the object of his inner thoughts and external actions. The Preservation F.150b of himself and his kingdom should not be his sole aim and (object) in these punishments.[519] At the (time of punishments)[520] his heart must make its supplication to God. He should (discern properly)[521] the occasions of inescapable necessity when (the king)[522] can order (a capital punishment) in his own discretion.

(Religious)[523] kings have had regard and consideration for many subtile principles in inflicting the death penalty and punishments for political offences. (One)[524] subtile principle they have kept in view while assigning political punishment is this. They punish a few persons in order that many may be warned and led to the right path. But if they put a large number of people to death e.g. one hundred or two hundred or five hundred, then this is not a political punishment but distraction and destitution through which friction appears in the kingdom

and the realm, because concerning political punishments there is neither any Quranic revelation nor any Hadis nor have (Muslim) jurisconsults written anything specifically about it. They have not even (cared) to write about the sort of a king whose logical deductions would be sound.

The second subtile principle to be kept in view in safeguard of capital punishment for political offences is this If a number of persons are brought and charged with the same one offence before the king, the test of a king's being a person of discernment is, that he resorts to a variety of punishments by issuing orders with due regard to every individual such that concerning some he is content with the imposition of a money fine; (others he simply commits to prison)[525], and some he casts in fetters behind iron bars. He(punishes some with kicks)[526], others he exiles to distant places, and some he puts to death. As for example four persons, who were co-partners in a political offence were brought (before one of)[527] the Caliphs of Islam. The Caliph summoned the leading men of Baghdad and held a meeting. He then summoned all the four criminals, who were participants in the crime. At first one out of those four was presented. The caliph ordered him to come nearer and after a while asked him to take his seat. Then he summoned the second one, scolded and reproached him, and asked him to sit at a great distance. Then he summoned the third and

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ordered him to be taken to the whipping block and given fifty strokes. The fourth he ordered to be taken to the market place and beheaded. After he had finished giving his orders for punishment, his courtiers asked him "Why are there different punishments for one offence". The caliph replied: "The object of punishment is to set right God's creatures. The first person, whom I seated near myself after a while, is worthy of respect and honour; there are not even few persons like him in Baghdad. For him and persons like him the amount of insult, I have done, is their punishment. There are many persons like the one for whom I ordered fifty strokes. If he is not given fifty strokes, his kind will not be (warned). The fourth whom I ordered to be taken and beheaded in the market place is mischievous and a bad man. He has been the cause of their commission of the crime, and has acted as Satan of the time for them. If I do not kill him openly and in public, there will be no warning for the wicked and for devils in the guise of men. If such an ill-starred and wicked man is left alive, he will commit a hundred other crimes and throw others also into afflictions". The religious scholars applauded the wisdom and the reply of the caliph and dispersed praising him.

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F151b

Now, O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam on the earth, it is your duty not to act arrogantly in punishing Mussalmans on every pretence and excuse and do not be a follower of love for

rulership in such an evil genius. You should tremble and shiver with fear at (the thought of) punishing the Mussalmans; for the kingdom of the entire world, even though is lasts for years, is not worth the price (which the king will have to pay) if in his overpowering desire for the permanence of his kingdom, which most certainly is not going to last (perpetually), he turns a deaf ear to the orders of Allah and His Prophet and puts a Mussalman to death. What a gross fraud it would be that his true belief is not able to restrain his wrath for a moment even, and that in spite of the power he had attained in this world, he takes his mortal enemies (to complain against him) before the throne of divine judgment? (Sultan) Mahmud is at a loss to understand how religious faith can remain firm in the hearts of slaughterers, who without any tradition of the F.152a <u>Sharia</u> or religious law, put Mussalmans to death, through their ambition and passion for offences against themselves, and who have no fear of God or ~~dictators~~ dictums of the Prophet?. With what face do these defyers perform prostration before God or dwell in the hope (of God's bounty)?

It is clear to all the people of Ghaznin, that Mahmud has seldom intentionally or consciously put a Mussalman to death on the basis of his own individual judgment. He has shuddered like a leaf of the willow tree at (the thought of) punishing believers in the Unity of God. It was due to the blessings of this fear and self-restraint that no conspirators and

traitors appeared in the ephemeral kingdom of Mahmud. (Due to the non-existance of) sedition and rebellion, it was not necessary for Mahmud to smear his (hands)[529] with Muslim blood[530].......... was brought before him. Mahmud, so far as was possible punished him with exile, fine and imprisonment only. He did not order him to be put to death beacuse he (Mahmud) claims to be a Mussalman. From his childhood until to-day, he considers himself to be born orthodox, pure in religion and a Sunni. With a view to protecting the Faith, he spends his life in extirpating the molesters of the Sharia and the opponents of the religion of Mustafa. He has converted the worshipping places of (idolators)[531] and the temples of the polytheists into the mosques of the proclaimers of the Unity of God. He has declared himself a holy warrior among the Muslims, and he has overthrown Manat the false (god)[532] of all Hindus and Sindhis for the pleasure of Allah. He passes his days (in devotions and worship)[533] and in the desire of martyrdom (in the path of Allah)[534]. He F.152b has recited the Quranic verse a thousand times: "And he who kills a true believer intentionally, his reward is Hell; he will dwell there eternally, and the wrath of Allah is on him and His curses, and there has been prepared for him a great punishment,"[535] and made sure of its meaning. He has also committed to memory the Hadis of the Prophet (peace be on him) which has been issued concerning the death penalty for Mussalmans: "It is not permitted to shed a

Mussalmans blood except for one of the three following causes-killing without justification, adultery with a married woman, and apostasy after the acceptance of Islam". After having (apprehended) the significance of the above-mentioned, how could mahmud erect a 'house of execution' before his gate and his court after the manner of the insolent tyrants, or cut into pieces the believers in the Unity of God like herbs and radishes for their offences against a kingdom which has no permanence, or under the pretence of the organisation and good order of the realm put to death one who affirms, that "there is no god but one God and Mohammad is His Prophet" and call this a 'Political punishment'? (if Mahmud did so), how will he be able to show his face before Allah and His Prophet, and what reply will he be able to give? God forbid and it will never be that Mahmud proceeds to the next world with the blood of the Mussalmans on his neck.

Concerning the punishment of the helpers and supporters of his realm and the nobles and grandees of his kingdom, Mahmud has also had regard for another subtile principle. You must also pay due regard to it so that the trust of the people in you may increase. This principle is that in such political offences as do not tend to cause the downfall of F153a the kingdom, Mahmud has not inflicted those punishments on his helpers and supporters as well as the nobles and the grandees of his realm which he inflicted on the common

people and sordid men. Whatever (punishments) he has ordered for the said groups, he has also taken into consideration that it may not wholly disgrace their dignity. For if they see that their honour has been completely lost, they will inevitably become the enemies of Mahmud's government and kingdom, and the result will be opposite to what was intended. Thereafter their wounds will not be healed through any favour. For the aim and object of the nobles and grandees, who wear out their lives and serve the gate and the court of the king, and suffer humiliation, and drink the poisoned goblets of their enemies and opponents, is honour and prestige.[536] Money and (wealth) are a secondary consideration. Whenever the king in his wrath and anger puts as end to the honour, which his supporters, helpers, the nobles and grandees have obtained after the hardships of years for each of their[537] (offence) and has no fear or hesitation in doing so, and throws away benevolence and favours of years just to satisfy the anger of a moment, how can there remain any loyalty for him in their hearts or any confidence in him in their bosoms? And whenever the loyalty of the great men for the kings decreases and the confidence of the nobles in him vanishes, how is the kingdom to remain firm?

One subtile principle to which great kings have paid regard in their punishments and political penalties is keeping open the door of intercession for through the opening of the door of intercession a great hope grows in F155b

the hearts of the people of the kingdom, love for the king develops in the nobles and the commons and even the fugitives from the kingdom and its abhorrers do not give up their expectations completely. But the king ought to keep certain conditions in mind, while opening the door of intercession. The first condition is, that if the person given the privilege to intercede happens to be one of the sons, brothers or courtiers of the king, he must not be one who hates others, and no one should be nearer, dearer and closer to the king than he is. The wise men know, that only a few persons obtain such an eminent status. If the person interceding happens to be one of the sheikhs, he ought to be singular (in his status) so that no one ranks higher or is more respectable than he is. If the person interceding is one of the ulemas, he ought to be such, that no one excels him in piety, honesty, good conduct and scholarship, so that his intercession may not be turned down; others may not set their hearts upon the acquisition[538] of this dignity, and the (amirs and wazirs) may stand no opportunity.

The second condition for opening the door of intercession is, that this door ought to be always kept wide open. Sometimes the intercessions of intercessors ought to be heard; but if intercessions are continuously listened to and accepted all offenders in administrative and revenue matters will seek this path and disorder will follow. But the door of intercession

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for pensions, gifts, increase of salaries and offences (not) related to administrative or revenue matters ought to be kept more wide open. The privilege of making such intercessions ought to be granted to a larger number of persons, so that the needy and the helpless may seek recourse to such intercessions as their means for realising their objects. This conduces to immense advantages in the affairs of government and administration. F.154a

O sons of Mahmud and O kings of Islam, let it not be that you adopt the path of the vanity and the tyranny of kingship. Satan will incite you; despotism and power will illuminate your bosoms, and you will consider it correct to think "We are kings. We will do what we have commanded. Who can dare to make any recommendations to us or to say anything what is expedient? Kings do what they like and do not listen to anybody's words!" Regard all such thoughts to be the promptings of Iblis. Remember that Almighty God is the king of all kings; that He is the most merciful of the merciful and the most benevolent of the benevolent, and that He has neither in this world nor in the next closed the door of appeal to those who appeal to Him, and nor will He shut it. All prophets and saints are permitted to intercede for sinners in this world and the next. How can a helpless and needy creature (like the king), who needs the intercessions of others for his innumerable faults, and who is drowned in sin from head to foot, close the door of intercession to those, who intercede or refuse to

hear appeals in this world? The door of intercession will be F.154b closed tomorrow on the "Day of Judgment for every king, who shuts the door of intercession in this world. Keeping open the door of intercession is the surety of a number of advanteges.

The (infliction) of a kind of capital punishment and (other)punishment out of their different kinds is indeed a great and difficult task in the affairs of government. The dishonour of earthly kings has been and will be to their (infliction) of capital punishments and (other) tazirs. Satan has great interference in this matter.

Concerning this Nasihat that through favours, generosities and gifts punishments are given, and the object of government is attained, and that excessive killing is prohibited and does not realise its object, the account of the Commander of the Faithful, Mamun, and the anecdote of Tubba of Yamen are appropriate.

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(Anecdote) Illustrating the above Nasihat.

Iman Salabi has related in the "Tarikh-i-Abbasian", that when the (~~faith~~ path) to the Caliphate of Baghdad became clear for Maman, the commander of the Faithful, and his brother Mohammad Amin, who had ruled in place of their father (Harun) for four years, had been removed, Mamun stayed behind at his capital at Merv, and did not come to Baghdad, as he was ashamed of the mother of Amin's father, who had brought him up.

He appointed Hasan bin Sahl, the brother of his wazir, as governor of Baghdad and despatched him there. After two years the Abbasides developed a fear from Mamun in their hearts. A large number of Abbáside families having collected at Baghdad, raised a tumult and overthrew Hasan bin Sahl and placed Ibrahim Mehdi, Harun Rashid's brother and Mamun's uncle, on the throne of the Caliphate. Rabi bin Fazl, who had been Harun's wazir, joined Ibrahim Mehdi, and all the Abbasides took the oath of allegiance to him. As a result F.155a of this all the inhabitants of Baghdad and Iraq also took the oath of allegiance to Ibrahim, and a great tumult arose.

Mamun out of necessity marched with his army from Merv and came to Baghdad. The people of Baghdad deserted Mehdi and joined Mamun. Ibrahim Mehdi, Fazl bin Rabi, the wazir and some other prominent men, who had been the cause of the disturbance, went into hiding and absconding. The Abbasides and the leading nobles of Baghdad left the city and fled in all directions. Confusion and distraction appeared in the 541 city of Baghdad. The people were scattered out of fear of Mamun's punishments, for treason had been proved against all of them. When Mamun witnessed this distress and distraction in the minds of the people and fear in their bosoms, he opened the door of his favours and generosity to the mass of the traitors and ordered the following public proclamation to be made in all the mosques and bazaars of Baghdad. "I have,

as a general rule pardoned the offences of all the rebels of baghdad. Cast aside the fear (of punishment) for treason from your breasts. All of you are to return to your homes again. Treat this proclamation to be my deed of pardon". The fugitives and the scattered crowd heard of this forgiveness. They were aware of Mamun's order of generosity, truthfulness, rectitude, fulfilment of promises and adherence to his word, and so they returned. Whenever any of the absconders and fugitives appeared before Mamun's, he received gifts and robes of honour. Thus peace and quietness returned to people's hearts. Finally one day Ibrahim Mehdi, who had become Caliph, Fazl bin Rabi the wazir, who was the root of the rebellion, and other mischief-makers were brought as prisoners before Mamun. Mamun descended from his throne and offered two genuflections of prayers in thanksgiving for divine guidance. He set them free inspite of their so many political offences and pardoned their guilts. He gave them back their ealth, property, families, followers and servants, and restored them to the dignity and status they had formerly possessed. He uttered no words of reproach to them.

F.155b

When the news of this forgiveness was circulated then all those persons who had dispersed and fled in various directions, returned to their former homes. In three or four months order and good administrations were restored in Iraq, and the affairs of the Caliphate became stable. The counsellors of state represented to Mamun in private. "(No body)[542] has been

punished for such political offences, which threw the whole country into disorder. How will people in future be afraid (of the consequences of) rebellion, tumult and mischief-making? How will anyone be warned"? Mamun replied; "The procedure of caliphs and kings in punishment is this. They punish a limited number of persons for political offences in order, that the whole world may take lesson and be warned. F.156a If the whole world commits a crime and they wish to execute everyone — those who are warned and those who take a lesson in such circumstances, when the nobles and the commons have got together for the commission of a crime, the procedure of punishment ought to be reversed, and they ought to be treated with favours, kindness and generosity. I have done so. You see how prosperity has returned; the minds of the nobles and the commons have been pacified so quickly; fear and hatred have disappeared from amongst them; order and good administration have been restored among the inhabitants; and the affairs of government have been stabilised."

An illustration of the evils of ~~restoring~~ resorting to excess, the loathsome effects of which appeared in one day, is this. The leading Arab historians have releated that the kings of Hejaz and Yamen are known as Tubbas, just as the kings of Persia and Rum are known as Kisras and Qaisars. In ancient days a king, who was known as Tubba the tyrant, had ascended the throne of the Tubbas. He was extremely harsh-tempered, stone-hearted and full of wrath. The people of his kingdom were in a helpless

condition due to his harsh temper and sick of their lives on account of his tyranny. Finally towards the last days of his reign, intelligence arrived from Rum, that the Qaisar of Rum had died, that the people of Rum had crowned a child, in his place, and that the affairs of the kingdom of Rum had fallen into chaos and disorder. On hearing this news the ambition for the conquest of Rum took possession of the mind of Tubba, the tyrant, He opened the doors of his treasury, prepared and equipped his army and marched towards Rum. Although his wazirs and counsellors represented to him in every way, that Rum was an extensive territory and a far off land, that the campaign could not have been lodged successfully with the number of troops the king was taking; that the conquest and maintenance of Rum involved great difficulties, and because the distance was very long, the quadrupeds of the army would perish and become lean by the time they reached there, yet Tubba paid no heed to the words of his counsellors He behaved in a high-handed and obstinate way and made a firm resolve to march on Rum with the army he had at hand. When he reached there, the people of Rum had an organised and well-equipped army. Tubba's object was not realised and he could not subdue them. The rainy season had approached, and he had to stay there. Due to the great distance, the (connection of) news from Tubba's army had broken, and disturbances appeared in his kingdom. His rivals and equals began to molest the frontiers of Hejaz and Yamen, and desired to invade

F.156b

his capital. The people of his kingdom collected together, placed his brother on the throne, and a large number of persons took the oath of allegiance to him. The tumults, which had arisen, were subsided for the time being through these arrangements. After two years Tubba, the tyrant, returned from Rum without having accomplished his design. Most of his soldiers were scattered. When he was nearing Yamen, his brother, who had ascended his throne, took to flight, and the distinguished and the great men of the kingdom as well as the high and trusted officers of the court went out to receive Tubba. After having met him, they gave an account of what had happened in his absence, and he writhed like a snake with a severed tail. He entered his kingdom and F.157a established himself in his capital. After a few days he ordered the people, who had seated his brother on the throne and who had suggested this, were to be arrested. And when ~~gone~~ the hand of captivity was laid upon a few (men).[543] Then most of the men took to flight. Approximetely three or four thousands persons were arrested. He ordered five hundred men to be executed every day.. This was done on the first day, but on the second day there was a tumult. The prisoners came out of their fetters, and slew Tubba along with his wife, children and his kith and kin. They left no name or trace of him on the face of the earth. The curse of his universal punishment fell upon him in just one day.[544]

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(Nasihat) XIV F.157a

On the Determination of Governmental Rules According to Times and Seasons.

Sultan Mahmud says: O sons you should know and understand that rulership is a great task and a heavy burden. And what a task it is, that the affairs of the people; their giving and taking, the mutual dealings of the sons of Adam and their differences and their contentions, are all referred to the opinion, judgment, orders and directions of one man, and are thus stabilised and remain stable! And through this, order and good administration are made possible on the earth; the rules of the Sharia are enforced; the rites of Islam are elevated; Truth is established at the Centre; merits are manifested, vices are hidden, justice and benevolence become widespread; oppression and cruelty are overthrown; F.157b obedience and virtuous acts come into the forefront; sin and iniquity take to hiding and secrecy; good acts display themselves, vices recede behind the curtain; there is blessing in (corn) and cattle, misfortunes and calamities decrease; heavenly bounties rain continuously, and the rewards and recompense (for good deeds) are obtained.

How then can a great task and a venerable business, which are the conduct of administration and government be kept on their feet and remain firm without firm rules (546 ضوابط) concerning which knowledge and reason are in agreement, and

about which religious scholars and the wise men have no dispute and hesitation? How can the affairs of government be managed and be firm without rules, which in the terminology of administration means following (a line of) action, which the [547] (king) has imposed on himself as necessary and indispensable for the attainment of the ends of government, and from which he does not deviate in any event.

To take an example, the object of government measures is both immediate profit and ultimate good. The wise do not consider immediate profit to be of value unless it also leads to ultimate good. The honouring of the well-born and the degradation of the low-born is approved by knowledge and reason. So (the king) makes it necessary and obligatory on himself to give the posts and offices of government to the noble and the free-born, and never and under no condition to give them to the ignoble, mean and low-born people. Even if in appointment to these posts he sees no immediate profit from the well-born and sees immediate profit from the mean and the low-born, he will, nevertheless, assign posts to the well-born and will not allow the mean and the base- born to come anywhere near posts. And he will consider this principle obligatory F.158a on himself to such an extent that he will never deviate from it. Such an expediency is known and called a zabita. If in enforcing this rule, the king gives a single office or post to a mean or a base-born man, or allows any of the great

officers of his realm to give an office to, or take counsel from a mean or base-born man, then this regulation will not be a <u>zabita</u> any longer, and the object behind its enforcement will not be attained.

In short there ought to be numerous rules for the undertakings of government and affairs of administration, so that the aims of governmental activity, with reference to immediate benefits which serve as the surety for ultimate welfare may be attained. It is binding on a king of perfect wisdom to enforce, if he can, those royal rules, which have become proverbial because of their (principles) of justice and benevolence. But if due to the change of times and disagreeableness of circumstances, he is unable to follow the rules of the ancients, he ought to, with the guidance of the views of those, who are of perfect wisdom, and who have been well acquainted with political trade and have been distinguished by their education for leadership, frame rules suited to his time and circumstances, reign and age and proceed to enforce them. Much reflection is necessary in order, that regulations suited to the circumstances of his reign, by following which the prime object of his governmental business are attained, would be framed.

So O sons of Mahmud, it is your duty to consider the affairs of the state to be in disorder unless the governmental regulations are enforced and stabilised. If it is possible for you, adopt the rules, which religious F.158b

kings have framed with the counsel of their wazirs and wise men. (But if owing to the change of times and circumstances you cannot adopt these rules,[548] (then collect) the wise well-wishers of your kingdom and frame new rules).[549] But the rules appertaining to every task of governmental business should be framed after due reflection, consideration and discussion, keeping in view both the immediate and the future (good), the ups and downs and the pros and cons of the undertaking. Further, keep in mind carefully the conditions of enforcing them so that the affairs of government and the performance of the business of government may be easy for you and no trouble may arise.

But for you, who are sons of Mahmud, it would be better and more fitting to follow and imitate the regulations of Mahmud, for if Mahmud is junior to others, he is, nevertheless senior to you. It is an honour and glory for you to follow and imitate his regulations, because Mahmud during the first one year or two in the beginning of his reign took a good deal of trouble in framing rules suited to his time and his reign. The blood of Ahmad Hasan, Ali Kheshawand, Abu Sahl Isfraini was turned into water while reflecting and meditating about them. It is thirty-six years to-day that Mahmud has been carrying on the affairs of his government and administration in accordance with these rules.[550] And because these rules were based on righteousness, the administration became firm and the (governmental) business went on smoothly and is F.159a

going on smoothly, and no (grief or misfortune)[551] has appeared or is appearing.

But if you wish to frame (other regulations)[552] and find the good of your government lying in that, then after (a little reflection)[553] you ought to find it expedient to keep four conditions in view, while framing them.

<u>The first condition</u> is this. The contents of the administrative rules should not be such as to violate the rules of the <u>Sharia</u>, or interfere with the orders of religion, or their execution leads to the contempt of religious activity.

<u>The second condition</u> behind the framing of rules is that their enforcement should lead to the increase of loyalty among the nobles and of hope among the commons; to the winning over of the good and the humiliation of the wicked. It should not be a cause of hatred and (misfortune)[554] (burden)[555] and trouble.

<u>The third condition</u> behind the framing (of regulations) is, that their precedent must have been found in the regulations of religious kings and the enforcement of these regulations should not revive the customs and precedents of the irreligious or the manners and ways of tyrants.

<u>The fourth condition</u> is this, that if there is anything in these regulations against the <u>Sunnah</u> and you find their enforcement nevertheless to be necessary owing to the lack of great virtue and the abundance of the people having infirm

religious faith, then it ought to be clear to you that resorting to them comes under the category: "Necessity makes things lawful, which are forbidden". Do not consider them to be righteous or correct. You should be repentent and regretful by giving enormous alms as an atonement. Such (for example) are the regulations concerning the customs and manners at F.159b the court of the tyrant sultans with respect to standing, placing the forehead on the ground and kneeling in order to exhibit the fear of their singular status, pride and power and which have also been made customary at the courts of religious kings.

O sons, know that the framing of governmental regulations is indeed a very difficult task. Rules newly framed to suit the visible needs of the time and the occasion do not become firm, and do not find acceptance in the minds or in external actions of men, unless their framers are adorned with perfect wisdom, intelligence, knowledge, discernment and all sorts of experiences, and are also acquainted with the (temperament)[556], and regulations of the past rulers. In addition to this their passions and their anger must be under the control of their reason. Their quest for religion must be predominant over their quest for this world. Their feeling of envy and (jealousy)[557] must have withered away, and good-will for the king and the subjects must have penetrated in their hearts. They must have for certain known in their own lives the union of

good and bad of the kingdom, and the inter-penetration of right and wrong of the kingdom. They should be capable of distinguishing the policy of ultimate good from that of immediate profit and of keeping the former in view. When these conditions are fulfilled, the rules framed by them will remain stable, and will be worthy of being followed by others. But as to the framing of regulations for the conduct of governmental affairs by those, who are deficient, the worshippers of vanity and the ignorant, whose sole object is temporary benefit, mere worldly good and the welfare of a F.160a moment, it has been observed that such regulations cannot become firm and remain firm for a week or even for a single day. As a (consequence)[558] they produce more evil than prosperity.

O sons of Mahmud, you are to know that the sum and head of government is this. The orders and prohibitions of the king are enforced on the subjects, while rebellion, disobedience, criticism, opposition, hostility and ill-will of others towards the king either vanish or decrease considerably; the world becomes inhabited and the people are put under order and good government; the seventy-two communities are protected and engage in their business, profession and craft. About such a king of the universe and his government, it has been said:

O God, how sweet it is to be a king!
To act as a master in the guise of a servant.

And as to those (tyrants) who have blackened their faces

by claims to divinity and called themselves gods of the earth, they have framed some regulations for controlling the world and its affairs and cast (all thoughts of) God, His Prophets and the Day of Judgment entirely behind their backs while enforcing them. Their first regulation was this. Everyone was to obey them in all things. If they found a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand persons disobedient to them, they put them to death. Their second disgraceful regulation was this, that if they were pleased with anyone they conferred upon him a treasure, though he was worthy F.160b only of ten dinars. If they found a thousand men worthy of execution, they set them free for their self pleasure. (On the other hand) they slaughtered a large number of people and communities for no crime or misdemeanor on their part.

Owing to such disgraceful rules, Godless tyrants have been able to reign and to exercise the power of government, but only for a short time. But it is very hard, indeed very hard, difficult indeed very difficult for (religious) kings to govern in this way, specially for kings of Muslim faith. For to follow the Muslim faith implies hatred and contempt for this world. And according to the Muslim faith, if a single drop of Muslim blood is shed without justification, then the shedder will be subjected to painful punishments for all eternity. And there are Sunnah in the faith, which are all opposed to the customs and ways and the business of

monarchy. Hence regulations for the execution of governmental business in the Muslim faith ought to be such as are framed by the rarest of wise men, so that the administration of the world is carried on properly through them, and the earth is subdued and kept in subjection, and at the same time religion does not suffer less and the rewards in the next world are not lost.

Everyone among the wise kings, in whose mind the desire for religion is inscribed, should take into consideration the (following) few words of Mahmud, who possessed experience in this respect. He should carefully understand the truth behind these words and also ponder over his captivity in the (next world)[560] because of his being involved in the misfortunes of rulership. (He will then) realise the value of Mahmud's statement and pray for Mahmud's welfare until he lives. F.161a

All the arrangements of the royal court and office from officers, employees, dignitaries and ministerial posts, to slaves and gate-keepers for ensuring the dignity and the singularity of the Monarchy, and controlling the affairs of the state, have been well-constituted on the framework of the sages of antiquity and have remained firm. Indeed with reference to the pomp, ceremonies, customs and ways of the Sultans and concerning all conventions relating to their pride and power by which respect for them and awe of them, are engraved on the hearts of the nobles and the commons, both far and near, and which are a means for securing the enforcement

of their orders, no verse has been revealed in the Quran, nor a hadis of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) has been related. No narration has reached us from the words and actions of the Orthodox Caliphs, which are worthy of being adopted and followed by the Muslim Sultans. Thus, the framing of regulations by adhering to which the affairs of the state are stabilised and the world becomes inhabited and prosperous, while the religion of the king and his servants is not destroyed is a magnificent task.

With regard to this Nasihat, the illustration of the regulations of Qadr Khan of Khita and its elucidation, let the sons of Mahmud know, that when peace was concluded between Mahmud and Qadr Khan of Khita and they met, Qadr Khan held a grand feast, and went personally to invite Mahmud. Mahmud accompanied him to his army-camp. In the eyes of Mahmud and F.161b his officers, the army of Qadr Khan seemed extremely well-equipped, well organised and huge. Mahmud saw that Qadr Khan's soldiers were so obedient to him that thousands and thousands of men ran at a mere hint of his officers. They immediately carried out every order, which was given to them. Mahmud said to Qadr Khan: "Your army appears to me very well organised, equipped, obedient and loyal. Unless you had arranged your administrative affairs firmly, you could not have organised such an army. Tell me through what regulations have you strengthened and kept firm the affairs of your government?"

Qadr Khan replied: "In my religion no revealed book has come from Tingiri[561] (God), and no prophet has been sent to us. I and my ancestors govern through the strength of regulations based on reason. Every member of my family, who obtains the kingdom of Khita, and if he conducts the governmental business in accordance with the regulations based on reason, then God be thanked, the affairs of state are well organised during his reign and no harm comes to his sons after him. But if he wishes to govern in accordance with desire and self-will and to create a new rule and a new tradition every second day, then there remains no firmness in any of his words and deeds. He sacrifices his own life and the lives of his sons in this task and perishes in the worst of ways. F.162a When after my father and brother the dominion of Khita with its extensive territories fall into my hands, I framed twenty regulations in agreement with the opinion of the wise men of Khita and imposed them upon myself. During the thirty-one years that have passed, I have not wavered from these regulations even by a hair's breadth. I see, that the affairs of my kingdom have become firm and are remaining firm.

The first of these twenty regulations is this. The king must not tell lies. I have made it obligatory on myself that under no condition, whether great or small, will I tell a lie. It is thirty years since I have been a king, and I have never spoken a lie. If any one utters a lie before me, I consider

him my enemy. I do not allow a liar to come even near the outer boundary of my court.

The <u>second</u> regulation is this. No office ought to be given to any one, who embezzles. If any of my revenue officers has embezzled, then after snatching back the embezzled money, I do not give any office to him or to his sons.

The <u>third</u> regulation concerns the overthrow of the seditious and the treacherous in the realm. When anyone, who indulges in conspiracy and revolts in my country and attempts to overthrow my kingdom, has fallen into my hands, then if the rebel has been a stranger, I have put him and his officers, who were the leaders of rebellion to sword along with their tribes and followers. But if I have found, that the rebel was from among the partners of my kingdom, I have given him a little money and exiled him with his wife and children to a distant land; but the leaders, who had incited him, I have executed. F.162b

The <u>fourth</u> regulation is this. No vile and common man is to become a courtier of the king and is not to obtain any post or office. I have not during this period given any post or office to a shop-keeper or a low-born or common man. I have not considered it permissible, that these people should surround my royal courtiers or that a worthless man should attain to richness in my kingdom.

The <u>fifth</u> regulation concerns the extirpation of oppression

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from amongst the people. When I (have seen) one man oppressing another, I have given to the injured man the house of the oppressor and all what it contained. As a result of the enforcement of this law, oppression has been eradicated from my kingdom.

The sixth regulation is about the king's recognition of services. If anyone has rendered great services to my court, or has shown greater loyalty than his equals and contemporaries, I have not permitted the claims of his services to be undermined and according to his talents I have raised his office degree by degree.

The seventh regulation is with regard to the efforts of the king so that the transactions of the people may be brought back to righteousness. I have so punished the groups of merchants and shop-keepers in my kingdom that they do not resort to the adulteration of goods or to swindling or profiteering in the sale of commodities; they do not attempt open regrating in corn or anything else, and are content with their meagre profits, because cheapness of grain and cloth leads to the good order of the army.

The eighth regulation relates to the information which the king ought to get about those, far and near. I have throughout the course of my reign been well-informed F.163a
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about my courtiers, nobles, tribe and (followers), leaders and commanders of the army, governors of territories and

revenue-officers. It is known to them, that the virtues and vices, oppression and justice of everyone of them is revealed to me. There is to be never and under no conditions any connivance in the enforcement of justice and equity. (Consequently) one man has seldom oppressed another or gone astray or attempted embezzlement. My reception of information with regard to the condition of the subjects has been of immense benefit to me.

The ninth regulation concerns the appointment of army commanders. I have given command of the army to persons of virtue, good-will, seekers of peace, mature in experience, (lion-hearted)[564], good-natured, loyal, God-fearing, and modest.

The tenth regulation concerns the respect of those, who have renounced this world and the honour of those, who are wise and skilled. Whenever I have heard, that anyone has forsaken the world and devoted himself to Tingiri, I have honoured and respected him. I have gone to him and solicited his help for the welfare of the people of my realm. I have conferred gold and horses upon the wise and the skilled.

The eleventh regulation concerns the preservation of the ranks of the grandees and the noble-born of the realm. I have not neglected or failed even by a needle-point in maintaining the dignity of the amir-i-Tuman, amir-i-hazara,[565] old and experienced men, and those, who are noble-born with respect to their sitting (in the court) and standing, (the

bestowal of) robes and gifts upon them and their honour and dignity. I have not resorted to any camel and cat incongruity while showing favour and kindness to them. F.163b

The twelfth regulation is regarding taking counsel from the wise men of the realm, who have close access to the king. In the beginning of my reign, I selected some wise, aged and experienced men, whom I found sympathetic and compassionate towards me, for taking counsel about the affairs of my kingdom. I have given promotions to them in a number of ways. I have made them counsellors of my kingdom, and have not deviated from their advice.

The thirteenth regulation concerns the upbringing of the army. I have made it obligatory on myself to hold army inspection twice a year. I have favoured every army commander and raised him to the highest position, if I have found him to be a promoter of soldiers' good, and whose troops have been well-organised and well-equipped. But if I have found his troops to be in distress and disorder, I have withdrawn my favours from him, and transferred his troops to another. My army has been brought up in this way.

The fourteenth regulation concerns the removal of taxes and levies from the caravans and merchants of the neighbouring countries. I have not expected a single dirham from them in the form of taxes or in any other way. Rather I have favoured them and given them robes and gifts. (Thus) grain and cloth

have become cheap in my realm.

The _fifteenth_ regulation consists of moderation in the realisation of _khavaj_ and _jizya_ from the subjects of the realm. If even ten _dirhams_ were due from the subjects (and if I found them unable to pay), I did not realise it. Whoever showed greater obedience towards me, I have made considerable F.164a reductions for him. I have never permitted the exaction of extraordinary levies and iniquitous taxes, unpaid labour (_begar_) and night work, whether great or small, from the subjects.

The _sixteenth_ regulation is about diligence in the performance of promises and reluctance in making promises. If I have given a promise of being generous to a person or to give him promotion, I have, at the time of fulfilment, given more than I had originally promised. If I have threatened anyone about something, I have not at the time of punishment hesitated in punishing, where the crime has, been political; but if the crime has appertained to revenue matters and I have found him in default, then I have reduced the punishment, I had promised. If submission and necessity (of committing the crime) was shown by a criminal, I have pardoned him.

The _seventeenth_ regulation (concerns) the obliteration of hostility. I have not acted perfidiously against any man, but if anyone has revolted against me, I have neither left his name nor his trace on the face of this earth. Because of this punishment no one has revolted in my country, and my people

have not gone anywhere near rebellion.

The <u>eighteenth</u> regulation concerns the ignoring of the accusations of calumniators and the jealous against the great men of the kingdom. I have made provisions against the calumny of the calumniator. If the calumn is appertaining to revenue matters, and if it is against the officers, whom I have nurtured, I have not listened to it. But that which concerns strangers, I have assigned it to my officers and have not given the calumniator access to myself. If the calumny concerns political matters and I have found the charge of the calumniator to be genuine, I have favoured him with gifts and honours. But if I have found the charge to be false, I have not been very severe towards him, so that this door (of information) may not be closed. F.164b

The <u>nineteenth</u> regulation concerns the king's own mode of living with royal dignity and grandeur, although he be with his wives and children. I have been living for so many years, with grandeur and dignity and in every kind of

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circumstance with (my countrymen), foreigners, wives, children, brothers, relations, courtiers, well-wishers and the nobles. I have not degraded the honour and dignity of kingship by any word or deed, calculated to bring disgrace or lack of respect.

The <u>twentieth</u> regulation concerns the preservation of the secrets of the realm. So far as possible, I have not revealed the secrets of my realm to anybody else, and if at all I have

revealed them, it has been to persons concerning whom it could not even be imagined, that they would leak them out. But if anyone has revealed my secrets, I have thereafter given him no position or status near myself.

I have not altered or wavered even by a hair's breadth in any of these twenty regulations. I have been reigning for the last thirty-one years. I believe that my subjects are prosperous and also loyal to me, and that Tingiri i.e. God is pleased with me as well, for He never makes me a captive of any calamity, sorrow or affliction nor makes my subjects a prey to famine or epidemics."

After Qadr Khan had given an expression to his state regulations, he inquired from Mahmud saying: "Your name and reputation have captured the world; your territories (are) well governed and in good order; (thousands upon thousands)[567] of soldiers have collected around you. If your governmental rules would be revealed to me, I will derive benefit out of them." F.165a

Mahmud replied to Qadr Khan: "We belong to the religion of Mohammad and he was the last of the prophets. Every rule I put into operation concerning governmental business, my object is the enforcement of the Sharia of the Prophet of the Lord of the worlds. My governmental rules are not antagonistic to the orders of the Sharia.

"My first regulation of government is this. (Thirty-eight)[568]

years have passed since I am a king. I have resolved and it has been my strong conviction and firm resolve ever since, to put the molestors of Mohammadan religion to the sword; to take the orders of the Sharia of Mohammad to the four corners of the earth, and to illuminate them with the radiance of Islam. I am occupied in this, shall remain occupied, and will depart from the world carrying this intent and conviction. During these so many years I have converted many idol-temples into mosques, and have removed the heads of so many idols of the seventy-two communities. I have overthrown Manat, which has been the false god of the infidels and idolaters for two or three thousand years, from its very root and foundation and have kept it headless underneath the gate of Ghaznin.

Mahmud's second regulation of government is this. I entrust the (enforcement of the) orders of the Sharia of Mustafa to pious, religious and God-fearing persons. I do not appoint any avaricious, crooked, seeker of this world, man of evil religious convictions or swindler as the qazi of the Sharia. I give the offices and execution of worldly affairs to men of nobility and good birth. I (do not) permit the mean, the base-born and the ignobles to come anywhere near worldly or religious offices. 569 F.165b

Mahmud's third regulation of government is this. When after having chastised someone, I put him among my courtiers or near ones, and raise him to a high status, then I do not

degrade him on every pretext and pretence. I do not permit, that in my court anyone's claims to service and loyalty should ever be ignored. I do not overthrow those nurtured by me or by my father for every fault, crime or oppression. I live with my sons and the supporters and well-wishers of my kingdom in such a way, that my dignity is not lowered, whereas their loyalty increases.

Mahmud's fourth regulation of government is this. Every year I have gold and silver piled into heaps and distributed among the troops in my presence. The greater the amount distributed, the greater is the pleasure my heart achieves. I have never either contemplated nor enforced any (retrenchment) in the expenses of the army. I have not permitted the humiliation of the soldiers to the extent possible.

Mahmud's fifth regulation of government is this. I hold learning, wisdom, justice, constancy in religion, skill, qualities of character, efficiency, truthfulness and good conduct in great esteem. I have raised to greatness and dignity persons in possession of these qualities without their having any precedence or other recommendations such as the claims of service, old age and the like. I have made available for them pensions, gifts, villages and gardens in such a manner that my kingdom has come to be adorned with men of learning, wisdom, piety, skill, perfection, truthfulness and good behaviour. This has also been a means to my good name and reputation. F.166a

Mahmud's sixth regulation of government is this. I am

well-informed about the condition of everyone from my sons, relations, courtiers, governors and official authorities of the realm to landlords, village headmen and other subjects. As a result of my being well-informed about the inhabitants of my kingdom, the good and righteousness among rulers and the ruled have been observed.

Mahmud's seventh regulation of government is this. I have known well the (appropriate) time for each task and occasion for every undertaking. I have not wasted my leisure time (but) I have appreciated the value of time in my life. In attending to affairs of state, I have properly apportioned my time, so that my life may not be wasted in frivolity and futility, while work remains undone.

Mahmud's eighth regulation of government is this. Before I set my heart upon any important affairs or begin the execution of any task, I carefully ponder over its realisation and consult my advisers. After that I make up my mind firmly. God the Almighty has brought all my undertakings to a successful conclusion with excellence and ease.

Mahmud's ninth regulation of government is this. I have always treated my subjects, the submissive and the obedient people with kindness and compassion. I have nurtured the peaceful and the virtuous under the wings of my favour. In the collection of tribute, I have neither been (so) severe as to make the subjects poor and indigent, nor so lenient as to

enable them to become disobedient and rebellious through F.166b excess of wealth. And as to the fearless, the reckless, the brutish, the blind (adventurers), the non God-fearing, the rascals, the whoremongers, the imprudent, the tyrants and the insolent, I have dealt with them with severity, strictness, terror and majesty and have made use of hard-heartedness.

Mahmud's tenth regulation of government is this. I have not been deceived by the soft whisperings and flattering speeches of liars nor have I considered the trickery of tricksters to be worthy of credence. I have not put on airs due to the flattery of flatterers or the praise of poets. I have not considered myself a man of any account in the religion of Mohammad, and have always deemed myself to be failing in the due protection of the Faith. For the last three or four years I have been perplexed with the fear that tomorrow, on the Day of Judgment, I shall be asked: "With the dignity and power that we gave you, why did you not overthrow shirk and kufr from among the Hindus and convert them to the Muslim faith, and put all Brahmans, who are the leaders of kufr, to the sword? At all the two times, I have gone to Hindustan, I have had the intention and the means of exterminating kufr and shirk with the blows of the sword and of bringing them all to Islam. May the family of Ahmad Hasan Maimandi be ruined, for he prevented me from obtaining this honour in the Muslim faith.

Mahmud's <u>eleventh</u> regulation of government is this. I do not sleep peacefully on my bed according to my desire on any night from of God and the Prophet, the Day of Judgment and the accusations of my opponents. This regulation prevents me from the use of tyranny, oppression, cruelty and violence.

Mahmud's <u>twelfth</u> regulation of government is this. I have not overthrown financial offenders, who have been F.167a guilty of embezzlement and misdemeanors, in such a way that they cannot get up on their feet again. I have observed the limits in the matter of finding and confiscation of property. Consequently work and business have not remained neglected in my kingdom.

Mahmud's <u>thirteenth</u> regulation of government is this. This regulation (is) the corner stone of all my other regulations of state concerning my dealings with God's creatures. Never and for no reason have I (ever) left the side of righteousness or taken to insolent behaviour. On account of the observance of this regulation God, the most exalted and high has granted accomplishment to my undertakings.

My <u>fourteenth</u> regulation of government is this. I have so very well observed the aforesaid rules, that no (thought of) deviation from them has ever entered the sanctuary of my heart."

After Mahmud had explained his rules of government to

Qadr Khan, the latter wept profusely and said: "The observance of such rules is only possible by the grace of Tingiri."

He embraced the Faith at the hands of Sultan Mahmud and became a Mussalman.[570]

(Nasihat)[571] No. XV. F.167a.

On High Resolve and Magnanimity, which ought to be Innate and Inborn in the King.

Sultan Mahmud has said in his Testament: "O sons of Mahmud and kings of the earth, you should know it, and know it well, that the premier virtue of a king, and the basis of the moral qualities of kingship, is high resolve. Kingship and high resolve are necessary for each other, for kingship is the lieutenancy and the deputyship of God. If monarchs do not possess high resolve, lofty aspirations and the quest F.167b for greatness, they will not be able to discharge the obligations of government and rulership. The king's gifts will not reach the people, and if his gifts do not extend to all the people of his realm, his dignity and greatness will not become firmly established in the hearts of the high and the low. The gifts of kings are the kings of gifts;[572] they are numerous and more valuable than the gifts of others; also they reach everybody. And just as the king ought to be distinguished from all other people of his realm (in his qualities of leadership), so that trust in him may germinate in the hearts of the common people, similarly his singularity in the bestowal of gifts, which forms the real cause of honour and love for him, is an indispensable condition (for his rulership). The conferment of fine, costly and numerous gifts is a necessary

condition of his high resolve. In other royal distinctions, such as large treasures, valuables, horses, camels, mules, lofty palaces, dignity and prestige, which appertain to kingship, there is a mixture of desire (and greed)[573]. But it is not possible, and has not been possible for any king to exercise supreme politicial power, and to call himself (the deputy)[574] and the shadow of God, or to bring the people of the (world)[575] and the (whole) mankind underneath the wings of his compassion and favour; to expect the obedience to his orders from the sons of Adam; or to seek loyalty, sincerity and affection on a universal scale from the nobles and the commons; to bring leaders; nobles, grandees and distinguished men within the circle of his obedience and service; to obtain precedence over 168a the world and its inhabitants; to make the proclamation; "Only me and none else (انا ولا غیری), reach the ears of mankind; to make his gate and court the altar of the **petitions** of the seventy-two creeds, and to deem his equals to be his subordinates."

Just because Monarchy, by virtue of its inclination and sovereign power, is divinity ([illegible] غیری خدائی) on earth, it is not possible for men without aspirations or for men of low aspirations to lord over God's creatures, for high character is an indispensable condition of kingship. Kingship is greatness both in form and in reality. High resolve, greatness and the quest for greatness are not, and cannot be, compatible with parsimony, avarice and meanness of character. Sovereignty, which is a necessary condition of kingship, depends upon the

king's prestige, awe, singularity of status and distinction over others. Weak-willed, short-sighted, miserly, parsimonious and niggardly persons command (no)[576] distinction or singularity of status among the people. Misers are always considered to be disgraceful, untrustworthy and of no account in the hearts of the general public, and hatred and contempt for them is implanted in all hears by their very nature. Let it not be that contempt for the king should on any account gain possession over the hearts of the subjects and be a source of slackness in the obedience of his orders. Because the more the royal grandeur and dignity gain ascendancy over the hearts of the subjects, the more will be the obedience to his orders. And the more effective the obedience to royal orders, F.168b. the greater (will be)[577] the prosperity of the ruler and the ruled.

For this reason ~~has~~ Almighty God has created prophets perfect in dignity and character as compared with the rest of the Umma of the Caliphs. He sends them perfect in knowledge and wisdom and flawless in their persons and (ways of life)[578]. He does not make them faulty (by infusing in them) any of those human blemishes, that lead to diminution of respect or to disgrace; so that their words and actions owing to their perfection firmly establish themselves in the hearts of men. Similarly manliness, eloquence, quickness of intellect, free-birth, widwon, true religious conviction and good origin are necessary conditions for the Sultans of Islam. For these reasons the great men of the religion and the state in these later days have said:

"Kingship is compatible with infidelity and disease, but it is not compatible and cannot exist with miserliness, low-mindedness, vile character and tyranny". For kingship rests on two pillars, kindness and terror. But neither terror is shown by misers and the niggardly, nor is kindness possible for them. An avaricious and miserly person desires to take possession of every costly thing and valuable vessel, which he sees in the hands of the subjects or about which he hears. Because of his low-minded-ness, he draws towards himself by every means he can, the valuables, precious vessels, wealth and goods belonging to his subjects. He is unable to spend treasures on the important undertakings before him. Rather, he employs his royal power permanently in committing oppression and tyranny; Oppression and tyranny imply inhumanity and miserliness of disposition, for without any right and without any cause, he draws towards himself the wealth and belongings of the F.169a people.

These actions are the negation of the natural qualities of kingship and contrary to the characteristics of temporal government."

Wise men have said: "High resolve implies singularity of status. That man is, and can be called, a person of high resolve, who in all his internal and external qualities wishes to be superior to others. There is nothing better and greater than nearness to God and high spiritual grades in the next world. If on account of the craving for this world,

these (blessings) are forsaken and lost, then at least in the qualities, that are indispensable for supriority and leadership in this world, the king ought to be distinguished among his subjects. Low-mindedness and niggardliness can under no conditions lead to singularity of status; and without singularity of status the king becomes equal and similar to his subjects. And with equality and similarity (between the king and his subjects), neither respect for his orders nor obedience to his orders (is possible".

Plato, Aristotle, Diogenese, Hippocrates, Socrates and all wise men of to-day and yesterday, are agreed on this, that kingship is the embodiment of high aspirations, and that a low-minded man will not become a king. High resolve is confined to prophets, saints and hakims, who have trampled under foot this world because of its mean nature and its mortal character, and have turned their thoughts towards God, "like whom there is nothing else". But the king, who aspires for religious and worldly perfection and strives to be distinguished in the world in the attainment of the highest stages in both the worlds, must be a man of high resolve also regardless of the fact whether these two qualities can be assimilated together or not. But unless he obtained pre-eminence in the(material) world, he will not become a king. The distinguishing feature of his high resolve is that, F.169b just as he has become singular in his own dominion, he also flings the noose of his desire for the dominion of the entire

inhabited earth, so that he may become singular in the whole world. But if this is not possible, he should, at least resolve to do so and employ his magnanimity for being distinguished among the kings of the inhabited earth by reason of his orthodox virtues, numerous armies, servants, vast territories, valuables and (precious) vessels beyond computation. Consequently, a man without high resolve cannot attain to kingship, which is the culmination and perfection of greatness.

Wise men have written "If the king has been endowed with high resolve by nature, he can settle the affairs of his government and the business of his realm. His transactions do not cause the degradation of his religion, and the inhabitants of his realm pass their days in felicity, enjoyment, peace, security, prosperity and happiness. The good deeds and virtues of the king of innate high resolve last for ages. Indeed, salvation and high spiritual grades for the king, who is by nature endowed in high aspirations are to be expected in the next world."

But if the king is not endowed with innate high resolve, and attains to kingship either by inheritance or by force and deceit, inevitably enormous wealth and treasures fall into his hands. He collects immense wealth by force. Then because of his greed and desire for kingship, which are the end and aim of the avaricious and the greedy and the final object of the votaries of desire and the captives of the lower soul, he spends his treasures motivated by love for the preservation

of his kingdom regretfully and as an inconvenience. He is generous and munificent but through effort. Though he passes his time in difficulties and afflictions and sees an F.170a enormous sum of money spent, yet his ultimate end is both religious and worldly disgrace. Generosity with ostentation and liberality as a policy are not the means to praise and glory. For inborn merit is a necessary condition of high resolve. The man of merit is honoured in this world and obtains salvation in the next. Base resolves and niggardliness are the necessary characteristics of low-born men; and low-born men are disgraced in this world, and they are among the condemned ones in the next world because of their mean activities.

Wisemen have specified many characteristics of inborn high resolves:

The first, is this, that the kingdom of this world counts nothing in his (a king of high resolve) eyes and his efforts are directed towards the next world. But in case he desires this world, he tries to bring the whole of it under the obedience of his orders. If this is not possible, he tries to be distinguished among the rulers of the inhabited earth by his orthodox virtues, his enormous resources and the vastness of his dominions.

The second characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this, that he wishes to put the whole world under his obligation, but he is himself unable to bear the

obligation of anyone except God.

The <u>third</u> characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this, that he desires that all the charitable deeds and virtuous actions of the whole world be rendered through his own hands, but he himself seeks no reward for them either in this world or the next.

The <u>fourth</u> characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this, that his constant desire is not to receive anything from anybody, but to be always giving.

The <u>fifth</u> characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this, that he is always desirous of distinction in administrative affairs and acquiring the highest merits of the soul. His mind hates blemishes and imperfections in his realm and in the people.

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(The <u>sixth</u> characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this), that he wishes that all men and <u>jins</u> should dine on his dinner cloth; that food for all beasts and birds should go from his kitchen, and that the naked ones of the earth should wear clothes from his wardrobe.

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The <u>seventh</u> characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this, that the chief orders for the seven climes should come forth from his lips.

The <u>eighth</u> characteristic (of the inborn high resolve of a king) is this, that though by whatever stages his kingdom advances, his heart is never content with what he has and aspires for something greater still.

The ninth characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this, that he seeks to be the altar for the fulfilment of the needs of the people, and he is unable to tolerate that anyone should go away from his door without obtaining his object and end in view.

The tenth characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a king is this, that he wishes that all slaves, distressed persons, debtors and victims of misfortune are to be rescued by him and by his court. He cannot bear the sight or even bear the news of the misery of the miserable in his realm.

The eleventh characteristic of the inborn high resolve of a kind, is this, that after he has climbed the zenith of 'possibility', he strives for the 'impossible'. He finds no peace unto himself after having merely attained the 'possible'.

Historians have related, that ancient kings followed this custom, that a drum used to be beaten, when they sat down for their meals, so that everyone who was hungry could come to dine with them. At the time of meals they used to order food, loaded on four (or) five thousand camels to be taken to the steppes and scattered there, so that animals, wild beasts and birds may have their share of dinner. If twenty thousand or thirty thousand people sat wodn for meal with them F.171a there would be similar food, halwa (sweets) and sherbat (sweet drinks) for them, (as was) served to the king. [580] They said: "The meal of the king is the king of meals". During winter and summer they would not put on their matchless garments unless

a hundred thousand persons had put on their robes of honour. They said: "If the king has not the courage to do even so much, it is unlawful for him to govern God's creatures and it will be a pity to give him the designation of 'king'."

As to the high resolve of (Sultan) Mahmud, it is well-known to the inhabitants of Ghaznin, that the design of world-conquest was always imprinted on the mind and imagination of Maḥmud. He wished that the inhabited earth should come under his orders and dominion; that he should enlighten mankind with the light of Islam; that he should bring the seventy-two communities within the Orthodox Faith, and make them obedient to the Shariat of Mustafa, and that he should put the leaders of the molesters of the Faith and the Shariat (to the sword). All the nobles and the commons of Ghaznin have observed, that when Mahmud had his meals, twenty (thousand[581] people) dined with him, and that in summer and winter more than twenty thousand people wore his (gift) garments. To the governor of every province two or three winter garments were sent from the special wardrobe of Maḥmud.

The year Mahmud returned from Somnath, most of the horses and camels of the army had perished. But in the absence of Mahmud his slave-officers had collected an enormous flock in Khwarazn and Mawaraun Nahr. Mahmud gave one hundred and twenty thousand horses and fifty (thousand)[582] camels and mules as a gift to the troops that year. During all the far-flung campaigns on which Mahmud embarked, food

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(for men) and fodder (for cattle) were supplied from Mahmud's stores on occasions of scarcity. If the horse or the arms of a soldier were destroyed in a skirmish or battle against the enemy, they were replaced as a gift from the stables and armoury of Mahmud. In addition to this, if anyone's horse or camel perished in the campaign, he got others in return from Mahmud's stables and from his men.

In spite of all this, when Mahmud witnessed the feast of Qadr Khan of Khita, he felt ashamed of his Kingdom and of his royal resolve. For on the first day so many valuables and (costly) vessels of the Kingdom of Khita along with horses, camels and mules were sent by him as presents for Mahmud and his officers and army-leaders that they could not be collected together even in such (extensive) steppes. Only the list of everyone's presents could be handed over to him. During the next two weeks the muster-masters of Qadr Khan, in accordance with these lists, gave to everyone in the army of Mahmud - horsemen, footmen, shop-keepers, slaves, servants, muleteers, petitioners, horses, camels, robes, dinars, gold, silver, bread and (butter)[583] suited to his status and rank. Thus no living creature in that army remained unprovided in accordance with his status at the feast of Qadr Khan. At that time Mahmud had two hundred thousand horsemen and the number of F.172a footmen can be imagined, from this as to how much it could have been.

When Mahmud observed this feast of Qadr Khan, he was covered with shame, and said to himself: "If (true) hospitality is the hospitality, that Qadr Khan has offered and a (true) king is what Qadr Khan is, then you, O Mahmud, have made people laugh at your rulership for the last so many years". This occurred to Mahmud's mind repeatedly, that it was a matter for thousands of regrets, that Qadr Khan was not a Mussalman, that he did not believe in the Orthodox Faith and that Islam was in peril from him. Otherwise Mahmud would have invited him and the grandees of his realm as guests to his camp, and after presenting them with the kingdom of Ghaznin, the countries of Transoxiana, Khurasan, Sistan and all the lands of Hindustan, Mahmud himself would have put on the patched garment of the ascetics, and taken the road to the House of <u>Kaaba</u>. For sometime this dream haunted Mahmud, and these thoughts crossed his mind.

O sons of Mahmud and kings of the earth, it is your duty to look with the eye of justice and to realise, that you are like the rest of mankind in nature. You are not among the prophets and the saints[584] ... ...

The <u>third</u> (divine) gift due to which it was possible for Mahmud to leave his capital and conquer the world was this. Almighty God had given so many loyal soldiers, treasures and valuables to Sultan Mahmud, that they sufficed not only to

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keep Mahmud's power firmly established in his own kingdom, but also to prosecute his conquests; to subdue other realms, and to keep them under his sway. The loyalty and obedience of Mahmud's army had reached such a pitch, that at (his) mere signal, the whole of his army would throw itself into burning fire, cross rivers like the seas without any boats, 585 swim through deep waters to the other bank and, in the twinkling of an eye, throw its noose and climb up a fort, which would reach the star Capilla, and turn it upside down. There were so many treasures (always) present with Mahmud, that they in accordance with his wishes sufficed for his conquests, which entailed great expenses.

The fourth divine gift for Mahmud, on account of which his world conquests became possible, was this. Almighty God had inscribed the love and loyalty for Mahmud in the hearts of his subjects so deeply, that during his absence they were engaged night and day in praying for his victory and F.174b well-being. They prayed to God for his personal safety, some of them fasted for this purpose, while others distributed charity, some others went to the shrines of holy men and others gave alms. They all looked forward for the victory, conquest and (safe) return of Mahmud. The thoughts, wishes and prayers of his subjects were all concentrated on the undertaking. Who could imagine the extent of the effects of these blessed things?

The fifth divine gift for Mahmud which enabled him to move out of his capital and conquer other countries, was this. Almighty God had so inscribed his fear in the hearts of the kings, landlords and chiefs of the inhabited world that it did not occur to the mind of any of them to oppose and contest Mahmud or to invade his realm. Thus countries and territories were easily conquered; his enemies and the heirs to the kingdoms, he had conquered, either fled to foreign lands, or offered their submission to him. Owing to the great terror, that had overpowered them, they could not make a distinction between the bridles and the tails of their horses. They became impotent and helpless from fear of Mahmud.

Now, sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, if God grants the above-mentioned gifts to you, come out of your capital and plunge into world conquests, so that the glory of your conquests may survive in the world and your virtues and good deeds may 586 (roll) on the pages of time, for the basic F.175a principles necessary for undertaking world conquests are just the five items mentioned above.

It is rare for so many high gifts to be granted to a king. But there are (certain) pre-conditions to world conquest, which are indispensable for world conquerors. They should observe these conditions and know that they are the means for realising their objects.

The first requirement for the business of world conquest is this. The soldiers, who are appointed to accompany the king (on campaigns) must have in all respects peace of mind concerning their tribes, followers, wives, children, property and goods. No thought of danger or worry about them should appear in their hearts, even if their absence extends to ten years.

The second arrangement to be made concerning world conquest is this. All things, (which) are needed by God's creatures or which their hearts thrive for, and which they can find in the capital, ought to be available in the army-camp also. The king ought to so arrange matters that all kinds of food, clothes, perfumes, fresh and dry fruits of all varieties, electuaries, sweet-meats, pickles, medicines, beer, wines, and hemp are available in the army-camp. All groups of persons without whom either religious amusements and (worldly) affairs are not possible, such as religious scholars, mystics, jurisconsults, physicians, astrologers, artisans, shop-keepers, merchants, caravan merchants, courtesans, musicians, drum F,175b beaters, buffoons, tavern-keepers, jugglers, story tellers, wrestlers and jokers should be present in all long and distant campaigns, so that seeing them the soldiers will think that they are still in the capital; their hearts will not be depressed owing to their distance from their homes; they will not consider their (exile)[587] to be an exile; and owing to the abundance of all that is required by religion, worldly life,

desire and passion, they will imagine the army-camp to be the capital. They will forget the pain of separation from their families on account of seeing the faces and the performances of the above-mentioned people.

The third principle which ought to be observed in the task of world conquest is this. The king in his long and distant campaigns of destruction and plunder ought not to be over-strict or severe with his soldiers for the sake of one-fifth of the spoils. He ought not to resort to detailed investigations into the possession of beautiful slave-girls, handsome slave-boys and the goods and valuables, which fall into the hands of the soldiers and cause them to forget their families and reduce their affection for their families in their hearts.

The fourth arrangement to be made in affairs of world conquest is this. The king in consultation with his wazirs and wise men should make regulations in order that the route for fast-runners, footmen, dromedaries and messengers from the capital to the army is not cut off (by the enemy), so that both parties may be at peace abour each other, and the news of the people at home and that of the army reaches each other rapidly. Through this arrangement, the heart of the F.176a king will be at peace about his capital; the hearts of the soldiers at peace about their wives and children and the hearts of the people at home content about the army, and this peace of mind on both sides contributes to the success of

of the campaign. Then even if the campaign is prolonged, there arises no anxiety.

The <u>fifth</u> arrangement to be made in the task of world (conquest)[588] is this. When the king is engaged in conquests, his soldiers will visit many new cities and new lands of the world. The minds of the sons of Adam are variegated and their temperaments are different. Many of the new cities and lands, which they see, may suit the minds and temperament of the soldiers, who still find there many things to their liking and may desire to remain there. There will be many, who have embarrassment for themselves in their own capital, and on account of the disgrace resulting from them, they develop an aversion (loss) and detestation for their own city. Now when they see a new city well developed and well adorned, they may wish to settle there. Hence, the cure and vigilance on the part of the king, when he is engaged in the task of world conquest, demands that he should not allow even an ant to break off from his army and remain elsewhere or settle in another land. Rather, the king by all means, that are within his reach - by gifts, kindness and a number of promises, should bring to his capital from all corners of the world men of skill, experts, the well-born, the virtuous and men of good character.[589]

<u>Illustration</u>.

F.173b

(Sultan-us-Salatin) undertook a distant campaign and brought plenty of spoils from there. When with these spoils

he reached the frontier of his kingdom, which adjoined the frontier of iraq, Sultan-us-Salatin, instead of returning to his capital, encamped on his own territory by the side of the Iraqian frontier. He found an extensive and dark forest in the steppe on an elevated land, where fodder and water were available and established his camp there. After the rainy season was over, he intended to march over the low-lying land of Iraq to plunder and devastate it; and he established himself there with this object in view. But his soldiers had returned after a very long time and they had now entered their own country and were (encamped) within it. Groups of soldiers under various pretexts returned from the army-camp of Sultan-us-Salatin to their own homes and his following was reduced and desolated. But he paid no attention to this reduction of his army and in two or three months his army-camp became quite desolate.

This news reached the king of Iraq. He considered the moment opportune and despatched a few thousand brave horsemen. They were directed to leave the low-lying country; to break suddenly into the camp of Sultan-us-Salatin by (traversing) the route of the forests and steppe, and to capture him alive. The Iraqian army did this. It burst suddenly into the camp of Sultan-us-Salatin and before he could mount his horse and equip himself, the Iraqi horsemen entered his camp, came to his royal pavilion and captured him alive. Of the soldiers who had remained with him,

some were captured while others fled away forsaking their arms and horses. Sultan-us-Salatin with a collar F.176b round his neck was presented before the king of Iraq. The latter ordered him to be taken to the market place and sold. This was done and a merchant purchased him. (Meanwhile) the capital of Sultan-us-Salatin being in distress fell into the hands of his enemies.

The merchant, who had purchased this Sultan-us-Salatin, took him to Samarqand and sold him to Bughra Khan, (ruler), of Samarqnd. Bughra Khan was pleased with Sultan-us-Salatin's manner of service and his demeanour and politeness. He appointed him as one of his courtiers and high officers; every day he was captivated more and more by Sultan-us-Salatin's services and promoted him further.

It so happened, that the King of Khwarazm had an old enmity with Bughra Khan of Samarqand, and there were constant wars between them. By the will of Allah, the king of Khwarazm entered the territory of Samarqand (at the commencement) of winter without having to face any obstacle. Bughra Khan also prepared and equipped his army and marched against the enemy. After he had marched five or six stages from Samarqand, Sultan-us-Salatin, who had complete access to him, said in confidence to Bughra Khan: "The king ought not to go far beyond the precincts of his capital or leave his capital far behind. He must abandon (this idea), so that the king of Khwarazm may move forward and come nearer to Samarqand. Since

the winter season has approached, and he has come at the wrong time, within the next few days snow will start F.177a falling and it will become impossible to take one's hand out of the sleeve of one's cloak, his army will all be covered with snow and it will be short of fodder. But as our army will be near our capital, it will receive a constant supply of fodder and arms. When we find that they have become helpless and weak, we will take them right and left, and seek vengeance for our past enmity". Bughra Khan of Samarqand was delighted at the suggestion of Sultan-us-Salatin and his faith in the latter grew intense. He stopped at the stage, where he had arrived and gave up the idea of marching any further.

When the king of Khwarazm approached near the capital of Samarqand and the two armies prepared for battle and skirmish, the onslaught of the winter snow also began. Such a huge amount of snow fell on both the army-camps, that it prevented them from fighting. But since Bughra Khan was near his capital, fresh equipment and a good deal of fodder reached him from there. Bu no fodder or arms could be brought to the army of the king of Khwarazm. After a week the whole of his army became imbecile, and owing to heavy snowfall and scarcity of fodder, it became helpless and was discomfited. The army of Samarqand chased it and plundered it thoroughly. Most of the soldiers of Khwarazm were captured and imprisoned. A great victory was vouchsafed to Bughra Khan, and he returned triumphant and victorious to Samarqand.

One day, after this victory, Bughra Khan F.177b summoned Sultan-us-Salatin private and asked him with great kindness: "I behold many signs of greatness in you. Tell me truly, who you are, and to what family you belong?" Sultan-us-Salatin gave a complete account of himself to Bughra Khan, Bughra Khan showed him great respect, and made him sit by his side. He then gave him thirty thousand men with the (necessary) means and equipment, so that he may go to Herat and seek his vengeance. Sultan-us-Salatin went to Herat and overpowered his enemies and opponents. He captured Herat, and established himself on his (ancestral)[591] throne. So long as he lived he did not come out of his capital or went far from it.[592]

However, the account of Alexander concerning the measures adopted by him in pursuing his policy of world conquest, is this. When Alexander became free from his war with Dara - such a war through the accomplishment of which, it was possible for Alexander to have his awe inscribed on the hearts of men and take possession of Madain and the treasures of Khusros and that voluminous army of Dara, and the news of his victory spreading all over the world, then he desired to bring the whole inhabited earth under his dominion and capture the entire world. He discussed the enterprise of world-conquest with Aristotle, explained his mind idea to the latter, and sought the assistance and help of his judgment about the undertaking. Aristotle by way of advice said some wise F.178a things to Alexander; "The world does not have such permanence,

that one ought to waste one's precious life in conquering it. The most important part of the inhabited world has come into your hands already. Your residence at the capital leads to numerous benefits, while in distant campaigns, specially such as the king has thought of, there is a grave danger. To engage in an undertaking with such difficulties and without any necessity is not approved by reason".

Alexander replied: "I have found the desire for world-conquest inscribed on my heart since my childhood, and now that the means of undertaking it are not only available at hand, but have increased from one to hundred, your advice withholds me from undertaking the enterprise". "If it is so and the desire for world-conquest has been for a (long[593] time) in the royal mind", Aristotle remarked, "then (you)[594] will have to be determined on this great task. All the means for world-conquest are available, and these means are the universal fear of the king, the loyalty of the army, the good-will of the subjects, reliable officers (for governing the country during the king's absence) and abundance of soldiers and treasures. By the Grace of Allah, all these have fallen into the royal hands. Owing to the discomfiture of (Dara)[595], the courage of the rulers of the whole world has received a setback. All the people will submit to the king, to whichever country he goes. No one will have the courage to oppose the king and his troops. The methods, by which the conquest of the world is possible, are not concealed from the judgment of Alexander.[596] F.178b

Nasihat No. 597 (XVI)

F.178b

On Curing Some Diseases of the Realm and providing against those calamities which befall a kingdom.

Sultan Mahmud said: "O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, know and understand, that kingship is the perfection of worldly good fortune. There is no better worldly fortune than the office of a king, and monarchy being the height of good fortune does not bear an advertisy, haughtiness or an evil day. If on account of the vicissitudes of time, the kingdom is thrown into confusion and diseases crop up in the realm, then providing remedies for them is expedient. If in spite of these remedies the disease increases, then death is inevitable. If the cure is effective, it is a symptom of survival. Wise men have said: "Kingship is good fortune personified". But on rare occasions diseases appear in the person of the realm and calamities and misfortunes befall it. If these diseases are not cured quickly by strong judgment and right thinking, and if kings do not devote themselves to the removal of these calamities by listening to the advice of wazirs, hakims, and wise men and act negligently and carelessly, then the downfall of the kingdom ought to be expected at the soonest possible. If a breach of even ten bricks occurs in the palace of the kingdom, then within the twinkling of an eye it will grow into a chasm and the breach will increase, but if this breach of ten bricks is repaired and quickly filled

up, then there will be no (future) cracks on any side.

The diseases and calamities of a realm are of several kinds. F.179a

One kind of the diseases of the kingdom and its calamities are epidemics and famines. The judgment and plans of the king and his subjects prove ineffective remedies in both these cases. The king and the people are equally helpless in these calamities and diseases. Moreover in the case of a famine nothing more can be done by the king than that he renders help by reducing kharaj and the abolition of jizya by helping his subjects with free gifts from his treasury, and by giving what he can from his treasury to beggars and the poor. He can direct cash to be given to caravan merchants so that they may bring grain from other countries and sell it to the subjects at the cheapest rates. If the famine is more severe, the king can remit the kharaj and the jizya altogether and issue a general order to the rich men of the kingdom, that they are to take charge of some destitute and poor persons; share their wealth with them and do not let them die of starvation and that they are not to allow the people to perish in any family and city-quarter. But the hand of the king is helpless so far as the occurrence of epidemics is concerned, and his assistance and help, judgment and opinion prove quite ineffective in this connection.

Another kind of untoward event in a kingdom is this. The confidence of the subjects (in the king) decreases and the army and the people begin to detest him on account of his

severe demands and minute investigations, his bad temper and harsh measures, his excessive chastisements and punishments, his lack of mercy and refusal to connive at faults, or on account of low salaries and high tribute, or orders, the execution of which causes great (afflictions)[598] or is altogether (impossible)[599]. Ancient kings and wazirs have considered F.179b this untoward event and sickness to be a serious one. They have called the pain a cure for the domestic fire. For as a result of the aversion and ill-will of the subjects towards him, hatred for his subjects also arises in the heart of the king; (the string of) order and conciliation is broken and owing to the hatred of the two parties for each other, the existence and permanence of the realm become impossible. Rebellions and revolts appear on all sides; contumacy and disobedience crop up; confusion and disorders increase; and the execution of commands ceases to be customary. The sum and head of kingship, which are the treasury and the army are thrown into confusion and disorder, and grave defects appear.

It is extremely difficult to cure this disease, for the consequences are the fruits of the character of the king himself. Whenever the king treats the subjects thus and the subjects come to know the real nature of the king as well as his mind, temper and objectives, then even if the king does not attend to the realization of his aims and objects and desists from the inclinations of his temperament and character in order to gain the goodwill and favour of his subjects, they

will never trust him; hatred for him will not decrease in their hearts, and they will attribute his change of F.180a temperament to trickery and deceit. Some kings having been faced with the calamity of public detestation and realising that this disease of kingdom has become chronic, have assigned rulership to their sons or brothers; sought seclusion in a monastery and thus remained safe from annihilation and disgrace; or else they have taken poison and preferred to sacrifice themselves in order that there may be no tumult or revolt in which they would be slain along with their tribes and followers.[600]

Another kind of misfortune for a kingdom is this, that a strong enemy with army, treasures, power and dignity, who is superior to the king in every respect, may invade the king's dominion and no resistance and opposition to (this invader)[601] may be possible. (Wise men) have considered this (calamity)[602] of the realm a great calamity indeed, and if possible, they have prescribed its cure through various means.

The <u>first</u> means is this. Wealth and valuables should be sent as gifts and presents and (souvenirs)[603] by such means as may be available to the invader and to his high officers, courtiers and army-commanders. The gates of their evil-doings should be closed, and kept closed, through finesse stratagems. After that the king should strive to collect a numerous army and to obtain great power and dignity for himself. In such a calamity and danger, both the wealth of the royal treasury and the wealth of the people should be utilised. Everyone in F.180b

the kingdom, who has the talents of horsemanship should become a royal soldier. They should strive to strengthen the forts and to collect stores. The route of the powerful invader should be made desolate; dwellings should be demolished, tanks should be emptied and fodder should be burnt. If any promise for the payment of a <u>kharaj</u> in cash money, whether great or small, is given, this will lead to the disgrace pf the king. Kings have preferred wars and skirmishes, which may lead to ruination and annihilation, rather than paying <u>kharaj</u> to the enemy and offering submission to him. Consequently in such a contingency royal courage demands that the king with his helpers, supporters, well-wishers, partisans and lion-hearted warriors should come to grips with the powerful enemy, risk his life and his kingdom, give no thought to the ultimate end, and strike (so hard) at the enemy that he either departs or refrains from advancing. There is, of course, danger in this contingency, and in danger there is either victory or defeat.

The <u>second</u> means for removing a powerful enemy is through the institution of relationship and alliance. If through relationship and conjugal union the danger from a powerful enemy is averted, kings have adopted it and approved of it, except where difference of religion is a bar, for the (conjugal[604] union) of a (Muslim) woman (to a non-Muslim enemy) is not permitted. In such a contingency this plan does not work.

The third means for removing a powerful enemy is winning over his army-commanders and courtiers. When the enemy does not refrain from causing injury in spite of gentleness F.181a and the despatch of valuables, gifts and presents, then some of his helpers, supporters and army-commanders, who occupy the highest positions, should be won over confidentially and secretly by means of large sums of money, so that the danger from him is eliminated. When the helpers, supporters and army-commanders of a kind who are chosen and famous, do not support him in the campaign with their heart and soul, but are hostile to his intent and resolve, the successful conclusion of that campaign is not possible for him. This fact has been discovered by experience.

The fourth means for removing the danger of a powerful enemy (is) a remedy (in the last contingency).[605] When the intent of the powerful enemy for the kingdom has become very great and his resolve has reached the extreme limit and no other means - war, alliance or mildness - prove effective, the king ought to establish his capital in another territory. Chosen persons and experienced warriors from among the people ought to be taken to a territory to which the access of the enemy is difficult. They ought to migrate to this second settlement from their own country. This device has been suggested, but seldom resorted to in practice, for the emigration of the people from a territory or a country will be extremely difficult.

Another kind of misfortune for a kingdom is this. The king is established at his capital with his army and treasures, and two opponents, both of them equal to him (in power) attack his kingdom simultaneously from two opposite directions, for example from the east and the west or from the north and the south. If under such circumstances the king wishes F.181b to respond to one of them and marches forward for battle and ruination, (the other enemy will attack his realm). And if he wishes to face both, his army is not sufficient to challenge the two invaders. In such a contingency the king is in a very helpless plight. Under these circumstances discretion and policy demand, that the utmost effort be made to protect the capital and the great forts (of the kingdom) with all available resources until the season for marching and battles is over and the enemies retire as a matter of necessity. The desolation of the kingdom, which is the probable consequence of the invasion of enemies of equal power, can be imagined. This sort of calamity befalls (a king) but rarely.

Another kind of musfortune for a kingdom is this. The equipment of the king has been wasted in a campaign, he has undertaken, and before he can provide the entirely new equipment, he needs, an enemy of equal strength comes against him (well-equipped). 606 In such a contingency also (the remedy is) to protect the capital and to seek refuge in the forts. There is no other way out for the king except to protect himself and the nobles of the kingdom to the extent he can as far as possible.

Another kind of misfortune for a kingdom is this. The king has established his power over a new territory, and has not been able to receive the assistance of his chief helpers and supporters, or removed the hostility and opposition of the army-officers (of the conquered kingdom). At this time an enemy of equal power wages war on his kingdom. Resort to war and battle is forbidden in such a contingency. There is no remedy but to seek refuge in forts, to protect F.182a (the capital) and to pass the time.

Another kind of misfortune for a kingdom is this. An enemy of equal power, but well organised, and well-equipped attacks the king's dominions, and the king has not enough treasures to provide equipment equal to that of the enemy. Under these circumstances, he must borrow the property of his subjects as a loan, by will or by force; provide for the war-equipment he needs, and march forward to face the enemy. That (the principle) "necessity makes things lawful which are otherwise unlawful," contains much truth. But if an enemy whom it is impossible to meet with the army at hand invades the realm and it is also impossible to obtain money for equipping a new and a larger army, then in such a contingency resort ought to be made to this order of God. "March forth, lightly or heavily equipped, and fight in the path of Allah with your properties and your lives". In other words, all his subjects ought to be organised into an army.

In short, O sons of Mahmud you are to know that from the viewpoint of wisdom and policy there is a great danger in great battles. A great battle is the name given to a battle between two kings of equal power. Engaging in such a battle means risking the kingdom at a single stroke of the game. Far-sighted and sagacious men have said: "If avoidance by other means is possible, a great battle ought not to be undertaken". Because true wisdom does not approve of it, that the king should at a single stroke risk his life, kingdom, wife, F.182b children, property and goods by engaging in a great battle. A battle between parties (of equal strength) is like (the working of) the two pans of a balance. Owing to the greater weight of one pan, even if the difference be very slight, there is left no weight or value for the other pan, and thus the country is turned upside down; families and tribes are overthrown, and fall to the lot of others; government and the realms are torn from their very roots, and the wives and children of the people, for whose security they endanger their lives, fall into the hands of others.

A battle between two equal kings, in which there is no possibility of retrieval in case of defeat, is unlike other battles. In an ordinary battle only the superior army-officers of one of the parties are defeated, the kingdom is not lost, retrieval is possible, and distress and disorder are confined to the defeated army alone. But owing to the defeat and discomfiture of the king (in a great battle), the whole kingdom

is turned upside down; there is left no possibility of reconstruction and retrieval, and no hope of the return of conciliation. Because in a great battle there is danger of public disorder and distress, great wazirs have said: "Avoid great battles in which in a single moment everything is turned upside down."

The sages have said: "Kings in battles ought not merely take into consideration the large number of their own forces of the enemy, or be deluded by pride in their own over- F.183a whelming soldiers and the smallness of the enemy. For Almighty God has said: "How often has a small army overpowered a large one by the grace of God". Also a king ought not to hope for victory and success merely on the ground, "I am on the side of righteousness and the enemy is on the side of evil," for the wicked have often been victorious over the virtuous. The victory and defeat of armies in battles are among the pre-ordained commands of divine destiny, the mystery of which it is not possible for human knowledge or wisdom to comprehend.

Engaging in battles is not permitted by the wisdom of the wise. Foresight lies in avoiding battles and not in seeking them; and regard for foresight, so far as possible, is obligatory on kings. Bot on occasion of necessity battles are permitted. Hesitation and reluctance, it must be borne in mind, are only permitted in conditions where there is a choice at hand and not in cases of expediency.

O sons of Maḥmud and kings of the earth; it should be known to you that sagacious designs, thoughts of ultimate welfare, fear of personal annihilation, (consideration for the) welfare of wives and children and the survival of families and followers, security of the select and the commons, love of the country and the kingdom, the promptings of the sensual self, desire for enjoying a variety of pleasures and comforts, F183b greed for long life, regard for worldly wealth and goods, love for the beautiful, and the ambition for high status - all these only hold the skirt and cross the minds of lion-hearted men until the fire of battle is not lighted, and men drawn come face to face, hand to hand and eye to eye. But when the fire of battle throws up its flame; the spark of fire flashes; the neighing of horses on both sides strikes the ear-drum; the dust (of the two forces) co-mingles; the slogans and war cries of each party are heard by the other; bows are brought out of their scaffold, swords are taken out of their scabbards, the three hundred and sixty veins of the body are agitated; eyes glow red, and the hair of the head and the body stand erect, then all thoughts of security and ultime welfare, love of women and slave-girls, and the affection for sons and brothers disappear from the minds (of the valiant) and all the rest is forgotten. At that moment nothing else comes to their minds except drawing the sword, shedding blood throughout the country, falling on the enemy, taking the breath out of each other's bodies, raising hell, moving heaven and earth,

and considering the sacrifice of life to be a plaything. It is only before the battle that questions of (designs and policies) strike the hearts of the valiant, but when the F.184a battle is once joined, no precept or sermon, no considerations of prudence and no fear or dread prove obstacles in the minds of the brave. Though the enemies are thousands upon thousands, they seem insignificant in the eyes of the brave. At the time of fighting, courageous men do not seek allies and they solicit no help or assistance from anyone. If a thousand men fall upon one really courageous man, he also ought to attack them in return and no hesitation should cross his mind.

Hence I have written for you what wise men, hakims and wazirs have said by way of caution, and I have also hinted to you what happens to the bravest of the brave at the time of battle, so that you may be ready for what God the Almighty ordains at that time of action, and you may do what may seem to you best. As man has to submit to what God has ordained and that which is prescribed by destiny will come to pass, you are to know that any further talk is superfluous.

Concerning these different admonitions, the account of Khwarazm Shah bears an apt illustration.

<u>Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat.</u>

It is related in the Tarikh-i Khwarazm Shah[607] that there was a Khwarazm Shah during the reign of the Commander of the Faithful, Mu'tasim, brother of the commander of the Faithful

Mamun. There was a dispute between him and the capital of the Caliphate. For four successive years it was a wonder of the time that misfortunes befell his kingdom and disorders cropped up. By his prudent judgment he ventured to remove these calamities and to find cures for them. He strove hard to find means for meeting his enemies and quietly F.184b prepared and equipped his armies.

The following is an account of the misfortunes that befell him.

One year the horses of his army were affected with a disease of the backbone (tabaq). The royal stables became empty and the horsemen of Khawarazm Shah, in spite of their overwhelming numbers, became footmen. In the royal stables out of several lacs of horses only a meagre number of a few thousands were left, and the people of his kingdom became indigent due to the perishing of their horses. In that very year an army was despatched against Kharazm from the Capital of the Caliphate. When this army entered the territy of Khwarazm like ants and locusts, Khwarazm Shah sent messengers to the Caliph's officers, secretly promised to pay a bribe

of two hundred thousand dinars of western gold to the Chief-in-Command of the Caliph's army, and offered the security of his goldsmiths for the safe despatch of the above-mentioned gold to him at Baghdad. He had a daughter whom he sent to the harem of the Commander of the Faithful at Baghdad. He further undertook to pay an enormous amount of cash every year

to the Commander of the Faithful, wrote a deed of promise to this effect, and gave it to them. In that year through these schemes he cured the diseases of his kingdom and drove back the Caliph's armies. He gave a considerable amount of money to the Caliph's soldiers for their fodder. He invited the grandees and officers of the Caliph's army as his guests and won them over by offering them presents. The army of the Caliph returned quite pleased with him and he was saved from such a great upheaval. F.185a

As the news of the destruction of the horses of Khwarazm Shah had spread widely, next year I-sikun, (who) then occupied the throne of Khita, as well as Bughra Khan of Samarqand invaded Khwarazm. They entered the territory of Khwarazm from two sides. Khwarazm Shah thought to himself; "If I attempt to fight both the kings, I have not the power to do so. If I engage in battle with one of them, the other will enter my capital and capture it". He renounced the idea of fighting and ordered all the useful men of Khwarazm to build his four great forts. The women and children were to be kept in these forts while they were to patrol around them; if anyone attacked them, they were to repel him. This year they were to forsake their cattle, so that the soldiers of the enemy may be diverted towards them. But cattle, for whom fodder could be provided, were to be brought inside the forts. Khwarazm Shah, with the fort of Khwarazm at his back, established his camp in the precints of the capital. A huge quantity of fodder beyond

computation was collected at Khwarazm. The two enemy armies entered the two sides of the territory, and grazed their animals in cornfields, and massacred the cattle. Though they vehemently desired that Khwarazm Shah should engage in war with them, but he did not move more than a farsang from Khwarazm, and for three or four months he observed the strategy of the beseiged. When the season for campaigning was over, both the (invading) kings found it necessary to return to F.185b their countries. Thus Khwarazm Shah remained secure from such a calamity.

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In the third year the king of the Firangis invaded his territory, and the army of the Firangis came to Khwarazm numerous as ants and locusts. Khwarazm Shah ordered the whole territory of Khwarazm to be laid waste. Horses and flocks of cattle were sent in various directions to be sold at such price as anyone cared to offer. He ordered the wealthy men of Khwarazm to go inside the great forts and the poor and destitute people of his country to go to neighbouring lands and live there for a few months. He reduced the fodder (in the country) by every means he could, and ordered the extra grain of the country to be buried in the steppes and forests in such a way that no foreign army may discover it. Hay was to be set to fire and burnt. The cattle were to be slain and eaten or else taken to other lands wherefrom their dried meat (qadid) could be brought to the capital and kept in the great forts. He had a wooden rampart built at a distance of one farsang

from the capital. Then he entered the inner fort of Khwarazm with his soldiers and did not go anywhere near the Firangis. The king of the Firangis entered the territories of Khwarazm with his numerous army and remained there for a month. But he was reduced to distress owing to lack of fodder; his soldiers became helpless owing to hunger while the horses of the Firangi army began to perish for lack of fodder. The Firangi king found it necessary to withdraw from the territory of Khwarazm, and Khwarazm Shah and his subjects escaped from such a peril. His firm policy in the face of such a calamity became a precedence for kings and has been recorded on the pages of time and testifies his perfect wisdom and intelligence.

F.186a

During the fourth year a king from among the well-known kings of Egypt and Syria attacked Khwarazm. No money was left in the treasury of Khwarazm Shah because of the enormous expenditure of the past years. Khwarazm Shah ordered everyone, who had any money in his kingdom, to bring it to his court and to pile it up there; he would get back his loan within three years. He wrote in his own hand a formal deed for all to this effect and ordered it to be read out from the top of the pulpits and to be advertised in the bazaars and in public gatherings. As the people of Khwarazm had faith in the words and pen of Khwarazm Shah, they divided their wealth without any hesitation into two halves and brought one half of it to the court of Khwarazm Shah and piled it up there. Khwarazm Shah equipped an army, with this money and marched against the

enemy. This year he continued campaigning but did not risk a battle. Ultimately, the King of Syria was reduced to distress; his soldiers began to disperse and took to withdrawal. Thus, this year also Khwarazm Shah escaped from a calamity through design and policy. F.186b.

In the fifth year he prepared and equipped so many soldiers in Khwarazm that owing to their overwhelming number the desire of conquering his kingdom lessened in the minds of rival kings. He remained secure on the throne of Khwarazm for years to come. 610.

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Nasihat No. XVll F.186b

On the Wisdom of Royal Forbearance and Avoidance of Excessive Demands.

Sultan Mahmud says: O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, you should know that the foundations of government and benevolence, compassion, kindness and mildness. If a king understands well the basic foundations of government and in his dealings with all the inhabitants, he behaves with benevolence and mildness, his kingdom will soon be put into good order and his name and fame will last for long in the world. He should also have exhaustive knowledge about the wisdom of divine creation, that man has been created helpless, poor, needy, indigent and hollow; love of ease, comfort and convenience are ingrained in his very nature; by his very instinct he detests difficulties, hardships, toil and affliction, and he always flies away from them or tries to avert them. If the king gives the subjects an order to which before that time, they had not been used and accustomed to obey, and there are (afflictions), 612 difficulties and hardships in obeying the order; and if in spite of all this, the king is exacting and severe in enforcing such orders and keeps the subjects in affliction F.187a for the performance of duties beyond their capacity, and the subjects are unable to carry out his orders by any means whatsoever, then it becomes inevitable for the subjects to remove their necks from the yoke of his obedience. And in

consequence of this the king becomes the enemy of the subjects and the subjects become the enemy of the king. The business of government falls a victim to disorder; revolt and disobedience appear in every direction, and the string of administration is loosened.

If the king in the affairs of government follows the Sunnah of the Almighty God, he will know that the rulership of a mere human being, though phenomenal and temporal, is nevertheless in dignity the deputy-ship and Vice- gerency of God, and God has forbidden the use of excess, even though it be in religion and has ordered:[613] "Do not resort to excess in your religion". About the removal of hardships, He has said "God does not impose a duty on a human being beyond his capacity", That is, in spite of the rights, He has on mankind as their Creator, and as the (Bestower of) every kind of gifts, God has not imposed duties on human beings, which are not within their power to perform.

In addition to it, with reference to every command, which the Real Lord of the Universe has given to man through divine inspiration and every order obedience to which He has made obligatory, and the Muslim religion is bound up with submission and obedience to these orders, so many facilities have been incorporated. Thus belief in the Unity of God is the basic principle of Islam and its indespensable condition is gnosis.[614] But attaining to gnosis is (difficult) and irksome. So out of regard for the ease and convenience F187b

(of the Mussalmans) traditional theism based on <u>Iman</u>, which is without any gnosis, has been considered permissable, and the mere follower of tradition has been brought within the circle of Islam and the Muslim community. Similarly concerning prayers, which are the essence of all obedience and devotion, and the obligatory character of which has been inculcated with great and extreme firmness, the number of genuflections has been reduced from four to two, when a man is travelling, for travelling entails hardship and difficulty. On a rainy day, which causes difficulty, it is permitted to say two prayers at the same time --- the afternoon prayer with the evening prayer, and the sunset prayer with the night prayer, so that

trouble and hardship may be decreased. If prayer is not offered owing to some necessity and the time for it has passed, then belated prayer (qaza) is permitted in its place later.

All these orders have been given for the removal of afflictions and difficulties and with a view to providing for ease and comfort. For the sake of his comfort, a travellor is permitted to eat during the fasting month. Similarly, pregnant women, wet nurses, sick and very old people, for whom fasting would be a great hardship and difficulty, are permitted to eat (during the fasting month) out of regard for their ease and convenience. Again for the giving of Zakat wealth is a pre-condition; this duty is limited

to those, who have the capacity for it and own something beyond their basic requirements. As for Haj, the duty (of performing it) is conditioned on the possession of the requisites of the journey, the safety of the routes and the permission of parents, so that in submission, which is the foundation of Islam, there may not be excessive difficulty, hardship and trouble, and that the minds of men may not reject obedience to them, and be condemned. F.188a

In commending and applauding the ease and comfort which the Almighty has allowed in the Muslim faith, the apostle of God (peace and blessings be on him) has said by way of glorification: "I have been sent with the Orthodox (religion) of leniency and ease".

Concerning the <u>Sharia</u> hudud, which inflict injury and affliction on men's souls, and enduring which is a great trouble, and danger to human life, the Holy Prophet has said: "Avoid punishments on the basis of mere suspicion"[616] Servants are to be protected against punishment on suspicion for crimes, which relate to God's rights -- and Almighty God is above and free from revenge and forgiveness and remission of sins is one of the necessary qualities of His Divinity -- are to be avoided on the ground, of doubt from the minds of the people, so that God's creatures in spite of the fact that they are sinners, may not be afflicted with hardship, trouble and injury.

The object in referring to the rules of the <u>Sharia</u> about

the necessity of mildness and the elimination of difficulty and hardship in the orders of the king is this. The basis of the work of government and administration are benevolence, kindness, mildness, convenience and connivance. Severe exactions and excessive demands are antagonistic to the (tranquility) 617 of government and administration. An order obedience to which causes considerable difficulty and hardship ultimately leads to that, which is beyond (human) endurance. Whenever the king does not exercise mildness in his dealings with the people and their faults, and is severe in exacting obedience to the orders of God or to his own orders, and totally gives up pardoning faults and never cares for mildness, gentleness, tenderness, compassion, sympathy, consideration, forgiveness, connivance and the covering and veiling of faults; when he orders every kind of difficult task, and requires obedience and submission to his orders to the utmost; carries small things to greater extents, and the great things to their extremes; when he demands minute inspection into all affairs and considers shortcomings negligence and forgetfulness to be crimes both in his servants, well-wishers and all the subjects, and is harsh in his demands, and does not pay attention to apologies and excuses, and deals with the nobles and the commons with ill-temper and bad manners, and refers the investigation of all matters to the auditors of accounts, then disorder and chaos will appear in all the affairs of his

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realm and administration; the hearts of the people will be broken; sincerity and goodwill for the king will become extinct from everyone's minds, and hope will change into despair. And with despair in the hearts of the nobles and the commons, government can neither be stabilised nor made durable. For firmness in (the enforcement) of royal orders depends both upon fear and hope. The conduct of governmental business F.189a has been securely run on the principle: "The best of actions is the middle course". Extreme demands and severe exactions are considered wrong in all religions, and they have also been declared contrary to the stability of the affairs of state. Wise kings have treated their subjects with leniency and mildness, and they have distinguished acts of service and obedience from acts of wickedness and treason in such a way, that neither any sort of weakness and instability appeared in their rulership, and nor any (humiliation)[618] affected the majesty of their kingship. Rather, sincerity and loyalty for them have illuminated men's breasts, while fear and reverence for them remained in the minds of the nobles and the commons. Thus, while because[619] of the royal prestige and terror obedience and (submission) to him become habitual among the subjects, owing to their sincerity, goodwill and hope in him, his kingship attains to glory, respect and honour; and the affairs of administration are stabilised on proper lines.

Stability of this sort, which is the fruit of the king's

contrary qualities, becomes a means for his salvation and high spiritual grades in the world to come. Consequently, it is obligatory on kings of perfect judgment and great knowledge to act on the principle "in all actions the middle course is the best", in their varied relations with their court- F.189b iers, well-wishers, soldiers, subjects, nobles and the commons. They should neither be negligent, careless, and indifferent, nor remiss (in enforcing) the confirmed claims of Islam, and they should not resort to extreme and severe demands, which are great blemishes in a king. Among the Ceasers of Rum this precept was in vogue: 'The king should neither be like sugar, which could be swallowed completely, nor like poison, that everyone who takes it is gone. Because in the first instance, when the king exclusively seeks to please the subjects, the result is degradation; the dignity of sovereign power becomes tasteless, and fades away. In the second instance, when the king treats all his subjects with indignation, terror, hatred, ill-temper, and makes extreme and severe demands, aversion for him appears and hatred against him is aroused. But whenever the king adopts moderate ways and does not resort to extremes, either for pleasing or for terrorising the people, and puts ointment where ointment is needed, and cauterises where cauterisation is necessary, the state is put into order and made obedient; the submissive become well-wishers; the refractory become obedient; foes turn friends;

deserters return, abhorrers become inclined; hearts are at rest and minds at peace. For forgiveness, leniency and conciliation are the means (for raising) hopes, while terror and prestige are the source of fear. And whenever through fear and hope, which are contrary things, the minds of men are made firm, F.190a the affairs of the administration and the important undertakings of rulership are settled in the best of ways, and in the most elegant fashion. The ruler and the ruled both obtain benefit from their affairs.

Concerning this Advice the (account of) the leniency of Mustafa (peace be on him) towards the Arab is appropriate, and resort to extreme of Yazdjurd, King of Iraq, are worthy of credencer.

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat [620]

As an example of leniency, the (Imams) have related in the book Sharah us-Sunnah [621] that once an Arab had an intercourse with his wife during the day-time in the month of Ramazan. Afterwards he was filled with wonder and (shame), [622] regret and repentence. He explained his situation to the chiefs of his tribe, but they kept aloof from him; condemned his action and prescribed (no) [623] medicine or remedy for his pain. "Go to the Prophet", they said, "and explain your situation to him".

As those were the days of perfect truth and constancy in religion, so the Arab willingly or unwillingly went to Mustafa and said: "O Prophet of Allah I am ruined, and I have ruined another also, for I have had intercourse with my wife

(family) during the month of Ramazan. Hear my appeal in this contingency, and tell me what I should do, so that I may be forgiven for this sin". "Go and fast for sixty days as an atonement in such a way, so that there is no breaking of fast in between", replied the Prophet (peace be on him).

"Prophet of Allah", the Arab, who was fasting, F.190b represented, "this misfortune, which befell me was because of the heat of fasting. My body became so hot from fasting, that I could not restrain myself from intercourse".

The Prophet (peace be on him) finding that fasting for sixty days continuously would be too great an ordeal for the Arab, refrained from this order, and said: "If you cannot fast in continuation, set free a slave as an atonement for this sin".

"By the God, who has sent you as a true messenger to His people", the Arab replied, "I own no other neck except that which is on my own body, and I possess no slave".

The Prophet (peace be on him) realising that setting free a slave would be too onerous and difficult for him, withdrew this order also, and said; "Go and feed sixty beggars".

"O Prophet of God", the Arab replied. "from one end of Medina to the other, there are no persons poorer and more indigent than myself and my wife".

The great Prophet seeing that obedience to this order was also difficult for him, withdrew it as well. It so happened, that during this conversation of the Prophet (peace be on him) with the Arab, a man brought several loads of

dates to the Prophet either as a present or as a charity. The Prophet (peace be on him) said to the Arab: "Take these dates. You and your family are to eat them as an atonement for your sin". The Arab took the dates from the Prophet (peace be on him), carried them to his own tribe, showed them to his tribal chiefs, and others who had frightened him immensely and narrated to them the leniency and mildness of the Prophet of God (peace be on him). He praised and thanked the Prophet (peace be on him) before those, who had exhibited harshness towards him, and before that man, who had come forward and wagged his tongue in reproach. F.191a

As a result of this leniency and benevolence which the Prophet (peace be on him) showed towards a helpless, destitute and indigent Arab, many people became inclined towards Islam and became Muslims. Though according to the jurisconsults this order was exclusively intended for that Arab, yet the sages and the wise have discovered, and know that through the leniency and forgiveness, that have been ordained in the orthodox Faith, its orders will survive until the Day of Judgment and no one will be able to stop this. Besides during the early years of the advent of the Prophet (peace be on him) when throughout the world shirk ... ...

... ...

Yazdjurd showed wonders and passed beyond the limits of moderation in the matter of exacting money and bestowing gifts. F.191b

No thought crossed his mind about the deceitful tricks of time and the ingratitude of the treacherous sky. He took to reckless spending, adopted prodigal ways and began to incur expenditure for which the treasures of Korah[624] could not have been sufficient. His gifts and presents of ingots of gold and silver went up from thousands to lacs and from lacs to crores. He paid no regard to the suitabilty or the unsuitability of the occasion or to the ultimate consequences.

Yazdjurd's wazir made use of foresight, and took an account of the daily expenditure and income to Yazdjurd, which ran - one lac of dinars received daily, and five , six and even ten lacs spent daily, and placed it in his hands. Yazdjurd discovered the object of the wazir; he chuckled at him and replied: "You ought to be careful about your own wealth. But as to what I spend, does it come from the wealth and buried treasures of your father, that it appears to you so onerous? The affairs of rulership (Khudai) have descended upon me by inheritance and the sword of world-conquest, which acts as a (magnet)[625] for the (attainment) of the treasures of the earth, is in my hands. Wherever there is wealth on this earth, consider it to be in my treasury. Do not cause pain to me or to yourself by these foolish thoughts". "There is no reliance on time", the wazir represented, "The ancients also have not put faith in time because of its betrayals. If suddenly a calamity descends from

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the sky or trouble crop up on the earth and there is no money left in the treasury or time enough to bring treasures from some other place, what will happen to the affairs of administration and to the orders of government"? Yazdjurd replied: "You have said what wazirs ought to say. On the day when a calamity befalls me, and no money is left in the treasury, remind me of my words".

The wazir paid his respects (to Yadzjurd), and returned sad and melancholy to his house. He called his near ones to himself and told them of his questions and answers to the king. He fell ill in sorrow that the king had (not)[626] lent ear to his advice.

For (twenty)[627] years Yadzjurd indulged in such (lavish) expenditure. He pursued pleasure and exercised his self-will. When he had approached the age of sixty, a rival to his kingdom appeared and attacked his realm with a large force. Yazdjurd needed money for equipping a new army, but when enquiries were lodged into his treasures, it was found, that there was no money left, which could suffice for such a contongency. Yazdjurd was stupefied. He gave up his usual pleasure and universal gifts, and put a stop to his excessive expenditure and prodigality. He got rid of that enemy of his kingdom by some trick or strategem. After that he wanted the inhabitants of the country to fill up his treasuries to the same extent, as they had been before. He resorted to bad manners, harsh temper, inquiring into details

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severe demands and harsh exactions. He forswore all sympathy, regard, tenderness, compassion, leniency and softness in his dealings with the subjects, and turned his face away from justice and equity. He ordered the Kharaj and the jizya (to be increased) from one to five and from one to ten. He collected a large number of soldiers and directed their salaries (to be paid) by his subjects. He exacted taxes and dues above the customary law and began to make impossible demands He stretched forth his hand of tyranny with contention and amercement. He threw the subjects into hardship, difficulty, adversity and sorrow, and began to behave towards his relations and courtiers with harshness and ill-temper. He exacted money by every pretext from those far and near, and brought F.193a it into his treasury. The people were unable to execute his o orders even by bearing, what was beyond their capacity. He ordered universal punishments in cases of disobedience, and thus he put two hundred or three hundred men of all sorts to death in his court every day. A universal hatred for him grew among the people, and they all became his mortal enemies. Ultimately they revolted, they had become sick of their lives due to his severity and extreme demands. They came to his palace, tore him to pieces, and rid themselves of his evil. (This) incident proved as a mirror of experience for the kings of the world.

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(Nasihat) No. XVIII.

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On How the Stability of Government and the Good Order of the Affairs of State depend upon the Contradictory Qualities of the King.

Sultan Mahmud says: O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islām you should know and beware, that God the Almighty has formed man of contradictory qualities. In every creature, who has been taken out of the circle of animals, and put into the group of human beings, the opposite qualities of contraction and expansion, terror and mercy, generosity and niggardliness, humility and pride are seen and observed. But from the human point of view it is one of the wonders of the world, that these contradictory qualities attain to perfection, F.193b and reach the extreme limit (in one human being). But in the king these contradictory qualities ought to attain to the zenith, so that his person may be among the wonders of creation and he may become the deputy and vice-gerent of God over the people. For Almighty God has created men of different temperaments and dispositions and variegated intentions and motives. The external appearance of one man in all forms and features is, indeed, never like the external appearance of another, and the same rules applies to their qualities, character and intrinsic virtues. There is a complete difference in the characters and dispositions of men. Man is formed of contrary qualities, virtue and vice, and even these virtues and vices of each individual have been created differently. The virtues and

vices of one man never wholly and entirely resemble those of another. In some persons, who are in fact few, very few indeed, virtue has so overpowered vice, that vice becomes as good as non-existent and no meanness is observable in them. In other men vice so overpowers virtue, that no excellence is visible in them, and even if any kind of excellence appears in them, this will be found, if examined correctly, F.194a to be meanness which has put on the garb of excellence. Such people are considerable and numerous in number. In a few men sometimes virtue and sometimes meanness is witnessed. But mostly in fact the greater number of men, have been created as irrational animals, and they really belong to the category of animals and beasts of prey and are devoid of every virtue; and their existence and their being, their lives and their deaths, always dwell in ignoble deeds.

In the task of administration the king's court deals with all the subjects of his territories, and the king is the commander and ruler over all. Consequently, terror and kindness, authority and compassion, robustness and tenderness, pride and humility, severity and gentleness, wrath and mercy, generosity and hardness of heart, which are contradictory qualities, should be manifested in the king to the highest degree; and, in particular, they ought to be used at proper occasions and appropriate contingencies. With this perfection of character it is possible for the king to deal with thousands and thousands of men, who are different in their

qualities and dispositions, temperament and nature. If there is only terror in the king and no kindness, what will be the lot of the submissive, the helpless and the obedient? How will they be able to withstand only terror or terror F.194b that is all prevailing (kindness being insignificant)? If there is only kindness in the king and no terror, how will he restrain the rebellious, the contumacious, the refractory and the disobedient from rebellion, contumacy and disobedience, or succeed in reducing them to subjection, submission, helplessness and impotence through kindness alone? The king should in the same way use his other contradictory qualities, while dealing with the people.

It is a wonder of the wonders of creation, that the king's contradictory qualities should reach to perfection, and 630 that they should be manifested on the appropriate and (proper) occasions. Terror is not to be exercised at the time for mercy nor should mercy is to be shown at the time for terror. A man so endowed has a complete share and portion of divine attributes. Only that person whose contradictory qualities are innate and display themselves in perfection and manifest themselves at the right moment in good and evil, rectitude and mischieviousness, obedience, and rebellion, is worthy of kingship, suitable for kingship and entitled to kingship, which is the deputyship and vice-gerency of God. Such an exercise (of their contradictory qualities), which is witnessed in the characters of great Sultans, shines on their forehead, owing

to the beneficence of God. Such are the kings who in this world are given the status of the 'axis of the earth' (Qutb-i'Alam) and (in the other world) find a place F.195a under the shadow of the divine throne of the Lord. Recounting their praises and good deeds is a means to salvation and not a cause of ruin. The precept, "An hour of (justice) is better than seventy years of devotion"[631], has been propounded about their justice; and the Tradition: "The sultan is the shadow of God on earth, and all the oppressed take refuge with him,"[632] has come down about such kings. Only that king will be the shadow of God and worthy of the deputyship and vicegerency of God, who has a complete share and portion of God's contradictory qualities; only then such an ephemeral and temporary rulership, as is suitable and desirable, ought to be expected from him. Religious scholars have said: "If the king has no share or portion of God's qualities and virtues, he will make himself and others fit for the fire of Hell on account of his undesirable words and actions, whether he comes to power by usurpation or through hereditary succession".

From the traditions - "The sultan is the shadow of God on earth and all the oppressed take refuge with him" and "If there was no sultan, some men would destroy others"[633] - it is made clear that the salvation and the high spiritual grades of kings are dependent upon their contradictory qualities, because through their exercise of these qualities at proper

and appropriate occasions they become worthy of Paradise, as the Prophet's (peace be on him) *hadis* are authentic words. All those qualities that are needed and necessary for kingship and world conquest, and without (whose effects)[634] the (affairs)[635] of kingship and world conquest, cannot be put right, are related in the two above Traditions. Though most *hadis* of the Prophet (peace and blessings be on him)are brief in words and comprehensive in meaning, yet if (scholars) devote themselves to commenting on these two *hadis* only, at least a volume could be composed, though it would not be possible to discharge efficiently the duties of a commentator.[636] Those (kings) in whom their merits dominate their vices, and in whom virtues of character are innate, display justice and kindness in their administrative dealings with the people. Though love for the kingdom is dominant in them, and no one to hinder or prohibit them has been appointed on behalf of the True Faith, nevertheless because of their innate virtues, they do not resort to wickedness, oppression, tyranny, wrongly used terror, hatred and violence, unkindness, anger without cause, or useless affliction in their dealings with the people. The inhabitants of their realms pass their lives in properity and happiness. Such kings have a good reputation in this world and in the next world they either attain to salvation or at least their punishment is reduced.

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However kings who are the followers of the Orthodox Faith are created with virtues of character, and their belief

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in their religion is firm; they resort to kindness and terror, wrath and gentleness, robustness and tenderness, severity and mildness in their dealings with the people only in the interests of God and the religion of Mustafa; and the permanence of the state and the kingdom are desirable in their eyes only for the pursuance of this object. If they exercise benevolence, it is for the sake of God and the religion of Mustafa; if they resort to terror, their object is the protection of the Faith. They royal power, which is based on their contradictory qualities, is exercised for the protection of the Faith; their life is (dedicated) to the raising of the True Word, to the elevation of the rites of Islam, to the enforcement of the orders of the Shariat; to the glorification of 'the Order for the good and the prohibition of the evil', to bring honour to Islam and the Mussalmans and to the degradation of kufr and kafiri. Inevitably they obtain a good reputation in this world; praises of their good deeds will last until the day of Judgment, and they will be honoured with high spiritual grades in the next world and will rise (from their graves) among the prophets.

But in such sultans of Islam who have not been created with excellences of character, their vices inevitably will prevail upon their virtues. Besides, their belief in the Orthodox Faith will not become firm and their virtues will be artificial and designed. Out of necessity their external and internal visions are (dominated by) love for their king- F.198a

doms and the (desire for the) security of their own persons. Their contrary qualities are exercised only in the interests of their realm and government. Their real aim is their prosperity and kingship in this world, and they consider the affairs of religion as subordinate to this aim. Their beastly and compromising behaviour is motivated by their ambition for preserving themselves and their realms. If they are kind, it is for their own personal ends; if they resort to terror, it is again for the same reason. If they show favour or tolerance or refrain from molesting people, their object is the preservation of their kingdoms and themselves, and not the protection of the Faith. (Conversely), if they molest others, or show severity or behave with violence and terror, their motive is only love for their own kingdom. In either case, they will be deprived (of the blessings of) the other world and held responsible.

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In this world a man, who is tolerant, kind and compromising, and who causes little harm to others is said to be 'good'; though his good name and good deeds fade. But the wrong-doer, the oppressor and the rapacious is deemed to be an enemy and is remembered as such; he will have an evil reputation until the 'Day of Judgment' and in the next world he will be subjected to eternal punishments. The object of his policies and of his actions for the cause of Islam was not Islam exclusively. Really and truly his appeal will not be heard to-morrow or the 'Day of Judgment', because the eyes

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of God are on the inside and convictions of men. The Prophet (peace be on him) has said: "Allah does not look at your appearance and your actions, but He looks at your belief and your faith".[638]

So O sons of Mahmud, if you have been adorned with innate virtues strive to make the protection of the Faith the end and object of your valour, your efforts, and the exercise of your contradictory qualities. Consider the preservation of your kingdom and your realms to be in the pursuance of this object, so that you may be among those who are saved. If, on the other hand, virtues of character are not innate in you, then act in accordance with the Tradition of the Prophet; "Create (in yourself) the moral qualities of Allah". You should by your efforts change your vices into virtues, for man has been created capable of changing his moral qualities. Whether other people improve their moral qualities or not, the king whose contradictory qualities affect the whole world, is not able to maintain his kingship without improving his character. Through the mean character of the king both religious and worldly affairs are thrown into disorder. And as to your religious faith in Islam, test yourself on the touch-stone of examination. If you see that the exclusive aim of your perseverance and your effort, the object and end of your government and your power - is the protection and promotion of the Faith, F.199a the raising of the True Word, the elevation of the rites of

Islam, the honour of Islam and the Mussalmans and the overthrowing of *kufr*, and that your sole object is not the preservation of your kingdom and your own persons, then consider yourself for certain to be a Mussalman. But if, on the other hand, your sole and real object is kingdom and power, and you are not engaged in obtaining glory for Islam and the Mussalmans, and in overthrowing kufr and kafiri, and the Orthodox Faith does not from day to day attain to glory through your actions and due to the effect of your contradictory qualities, and the power of *kufr* and *kafiri* is not overthrown and obliterated
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through you, and *kafirs* and (mushriks) are not levelled to the ground and torn up from their roots and foundations, then be ashamed of your faith and your Islam and do not be proud and pleased with yourself. You should consider Mahmud's advice, in which he has revealed the secrets of his heart to be correct. You should know for certain, that no man from any group among the sons of Adam, has been able to say before the period of your kingship, what Mahmud has given you as a testimentary advice about government and religion.

The sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam should know, that *ephemeral rulership* is the *deputyship* and *vice-gerency* of God. The 'real' King of all kings and rulers is God Almighty, may His Glory be exalted. The Great God keeps the world F.199b on its feet through terror and kindness, and the effects of His kindness and terror, severity and mercy are visible (respectively) on the good and the bad. He has created

Paradise for the good and the obedient and promised it to them. He has created Hell for the wicked and the disobedient, and threatened the disobedient and the kafirs with it. He has created Rizwan, the keeper of Paradise, with the eye of kindness and Malak, the guardian of Hell, with the eye of terror. Consequently, earthly kings must follow the sunnah of the Real King, and they ought to deal with the inhabitants of their kingdoms according to their contradictory qualities, which are indispensable for the affairs of the kingdom. For just as kings do not have any alternative, but to keep in their royal court and portal, men of good manners, mild dispositions, courteous, well-behaved, modest and compromising, so that the royal qualities of kindness, compassion, benevolence, generosity, friendliness, clemency and tolerance may reach the submissive, the obedient, the good, the virtuous, the helpless, the truthful, and the upright through his compassionate, kind, generous, friendly, courteous, forgiving, and tolerant (officers), and through them his excellences may permeate the F.200a inhabitants of the whole country, similarly, the king has also to employ at his royal court, persons, who are ill-mannered, harsh-tempered, proud, cruel, rapacious, immodest, hard-hearted, shameless, rough, wrathful, and merciless, so that the royal qualities of terror, awe, cruelty, wrathfulness, hatred, hard-heartedness, and rapacity may reach those (subjects), who are rebellious, disobedient, faithless, wicked, bad, slanderers, ill-wishers, cruel, savage, thieves,

plunderers, conspirators, lawless, defiant of orders, vicious, godless, dishonest, vain, impertinent, liars, muschief-makers, trouble-croppers, rioters, and deceitful by means of (officers), who are unkind, ungenerous, discompassionate, ill-tempered, rapacious, proud, hard-hearted, harsh-minded, cruel, robust, and ferocious.

You ought to know that oppression, injustice, cruelty, inequity, misappropriation, destruction, dishonesty, wickedness, lack of regard for Islam and lack of regard for rights are different from the qualities of terror, wrath, awe, strength, hardness, severity, ill-temper, rudeness and lack of respect. In the royal portal and court both the contrary qualities mentioned above ought to be found, so that the teror and awe of the king may permeate the entire inhabitants of the kingdom, and in consequence of which, general order and good F.200b administration may appear, houses and farms may increase, excellence may overpower meanness, virtue (may prevail) upon vice and good over evil, and the virtuous and the religious may be satisfied and be prosperous. Since there is in this world a considerable number of satans in the (guise) 640 of men - sons of Adam with the character of Satan, sons of demons with the qualities of Iblis, rapacious men with demoniac temper, and men who have the characteristics of carnivorous animals and seem to have been descended from wild beasts, so if in the court of the king there are not officers with power and

terror, how are these groups to be subdued? And unless they are subdued, how are the obedient and submissive subjects to be saved and protected from their rapacity and beastliness? Without their subjection, there will be no liberation for the helpless from the powerful and for the weak from the strong. It is, therefore, necessary that in the court of the king there ought to be prisons, prison-officers, warders and strict men, who are well organised and well-equipped, so that from fear and dread of prisons, chains, injuries, afflictions and hardships, disobedience and dishonesty may decrease among the people, and the orders of the government be enforced.

The object of this preliminary introduction is this. The king ought to possess contradictory qualities in perfection, and his virtues ought to be innate in him. Further, F.201a his devotion to religion ought to reach the extreme limit, so that the world is put under good order and administration; the affairs of government are settled according to the will of the Almighty God, the elevation of the True Word illuminates the world, the True Faith prevails upon the false creeds; the orders of the Sharia' of Mustafa are enforced; Truth is established at the Centre, and both the ruler and the ruled obtain a worldly advantage owing to the obedience (of the latter). The king is raised in the next world to high spiritual grades near (God), and the subjects are saved from calamities and dangers.

Concerning this Nasihat, the strictness and beneficence

of the Commander of the Faithful, Umar, and the ferocity and the mildness of Sultan Sanjar are appropriate and worthy of credence.

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat.

Historians have related concerning the virtues of Umar, that his mercy, compassion, tenderness and kindness were so great that it is impossible to reduce them to writing. Towards the obedient, the submissive, the helpless, the indigant, the truthful, the religious, the God-fearing, the Trustworthy, the fearful, the modest and the unsupported, he was more affectionate and kind than a father and a mother. As to the 'people of the verandah' (ahl-i suffa)[641] and the forsakers of this F.201b world, the Commander of the Faithful himself went to the market, purchased all they wanted in their distressing and afflicted condition, and putting this on his shoulders, he carried it to their houses like a slave and a servant. If they or other poor people of the Muslim community in Medina had any difficulty, Umar helped them in person. The grandeur and dignity of the Caliphate did not prevent him from helping the indigent. Every day he had poor and needy people and travellers fed before himself; he kept standing, and served while food was being laid before them, and helped them in washing their hands.

If he heard, that in any territory or land the subjects had shown obedience willingly and from choice, and brought the

jizya and the kharaj without any hesitation or exertion and came within the fold of Islam in large numbers and groups, and accepted the True Faith and disowned the false creeds, or that Magians and fire-worshippers had abandoned fire-worship and incest, and had become firm in their promises and contracts, then he would make reductions for them in several ways, and would realise only so much kharaj from them as they were willing to pay, in order that they were left prosperous. He held F.202a reliable people dearer than his own life and soul and honoured them. He respected pious men and kissed their feet.

When the wives of the Prophet used to go from Medina for the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca, their camel-litters used to be in front (of the caravan). Caliph Umar walked on foot behind them. When they alighted at any stage, he would carry (water and foodstuffs)[642] on his head and take these things to their lodgings. He served the wives of the Prophet like a slave purchased with dirhams. If the wives and children of men, who had been despatched to holy wars required anything, he himself carried their needs necessary for life, to their homes.

(Yet) he was so strong, severe and firm in matters concerning the glory of the Faith and its protection, in supporting the Islamic Faith, in enforcing the orders of the Shariat in supervising the enforcement of 'orders for the good and the prohibition of evil', that he did not wish to spare the molesters and opponents of the Shariat of the Apostle of

Apostles alive on the face of the earth or any name or trace of the enemies of the Orthodox Faith to survive. Thus he overthrew from the very root the religion of the Magians, the Creed of the Majusis and the community of fire-worshippers, which had taken roots for the last two or three thousand years, and thrown out branches and leaves. The Magians and fire-worshippers were either extirpated or converted to F. 202b Islam. From the time of Umar Khattab until to-day, Islam has been the hereditary creed of the Persians, and in the whole territory of Iraq no magian, majusi or fire-worshipper has been spared.

The protection and promotion of the Faith demands the extirpation of kufr and kafiri and not the levying of the jizya and the kharaj on lenient terms on the kafirs and mushriks, while leaving them free to do what they like for the glorification of their own creeds. Umar Khattab for the protection of the Faith first overthrew the Persians, and made their women, children, property and wealth, the spoils of the Mussalmans; and ultimately, he brought them all within the religion of Islam, and erased their shirk and kufr. He exiled all the Jews and Christians from the territories of Yamen and Hejaz along with their wives, children, families and followers to distant lands. When he went to Jerusalem (Baitul Muqaddas) and captured it, he passed the following order for all Jews and Christians (so as) to glorify Islam and degrade the other creeds. Every Jew or Christian, who wished to

enter the temple of Jerusalem for a pilgrimage to the tombs of the prophets, was to offer one dinar of gold to the governor of the Mussalmans, receive one slap from the hand of one of his men, and pay his respects to him,[643] and after that he was allowed to enter the temple of Jerusalem for the pilgrimage. This firm (order) of Umar, which he gave for the honour of Islam and Mohammad's faith and for the degradation of the Jews F.203a and the cancelled creeds, stands until to-day. The Jews and the Christians receive slaps from the Mussalmans, offer them dinars and pay their respects, and then they are allowed to enter the temple at Jerusalem.

But in these days the kings of Islam show courtesy and pay regard, and through some pretext or the other permit the maintnenance of the dignity of Hindus, Mongols, Mushriks and Kafirs, who neither have had a prophet nor a revealed book, but are wirshippers of stones and water and cow dung.[644] It ought to be kept in mind, how for the honour of the true Faith, Umar Khattab, as has been seen, treated 'the people of the Books', which are the Torah and the Injil.[645] What treatment, then ought to be meted out to the worshippers of idols, which, in the eyes of the angels and the inhabitants of Heaven, are lower than plants and more humble and of less value than stones and clods of earth? How is the protection and promotion of the Faith attained by showing them courtesy, favours, honour and respect? Elevating the standards of Islam and protecting the True Faith consists in smiting and suppressing the enemies of Mohammad's

Faith and not in the construction of high towers, large mosques and palaces, that reach the sky.[646] In short it is concerning the kindness and terror of Umar, that the F.203b Holy Quran says: "They are harsh towards the kafirs and kind towards each other". He was hard, very hard, on the kafirs and kind, very kind indeed to the Mussalmans. A king, whose kindness and violence both manifest themselves to the full extent at the appropriate occasions of doing good or inflicting harm, and are thus utilised as is meet and proper, he will find, that his affairs of state become firm in this world, while in the next world he will be distinguished by salvation and high spiritual status.

As to the extremely kind (behaviour) of Sultan Sanjar towards the obedient and the submissive, and his terror and wrath towards the refractory, his Secretary, Muin Asam has stated in the Tarikh-i Sanjari[647] as follows :-

Due to the terror and power of sultan Sanjar most kings of the inhabited world, who belonged to opposed creeds, were overthrown along with their women, children, families and followers, and the orders of false religions were erased. The [648] (slaves) of Sultan Sanjar became kings in the territories and lands of the opponents. They enforced the rules of the Shariat; kufr was eliminated from their cities and kafirs and and mushriks were overthrown. Men of evil religions and evil dogmas hid themselves in snake-holes during his reign. No one had the courage to observe openly the rites of an adverse

creed; no man of evil religion and evil dogmas could be honoured and respected in the cities of the Mussalmans; nor could an enemy of the Faith be given precedence over the Mussalmans in any respect. If a man of bad religion or an opponent of the Faith came to dwell among the Mussalmans, he was degraded and rendered of no value and consequence, and no one took any notice of his existence.

F.204a

The pomp and grandeur of Sanjar had reached such a pinnacle, that thirty thousand horses, mules and camels travelled with his court-pavilion. Courtiers, poets, qawwals (reciters of mystic verses) and musicians got seven hundred caprisoned horses at the time of starting on the march from the royal stables every day. But in spite of this grandeur, terror, power and prestige, Sultan Sanjar possessed (such) tenderness and mildness, that after saying the obligatory prayers, his eyes used to be full with tears, and he wept profusely on hearing sermons and exhortations. He went on foot at night to the houses of religious devotees, and of those who had renounced the world. He considered the days passed with pious and holy men to be a blessing. Once a week he went to the houses of two shoe-makers, who were inspired mystics and worked miracles, in order to pay his respects to them. So it has been said :-

"Sultan Sanjar used to go, 649
To pay respects to two shoe-makers once a week."

He showed great courtesy to the slaves of his father and sat respectfully before them. He considered them to be in the place of his father's brothers, his own brothers and sons. On occasions of festivities and marriages he went as a guest to the houses of his relatives and slaves. In spite of the prestige of his empire, he went twice as a guest to the house of the poet, Anwari.[650] F.204b

Because of his very great kindness and compassion Sultan Sanjar would not permit any Mussalman to be put to death for political or revenue offences. "I cannot kill a Mussalman for a crime against my kingdom", he would say, "for I will be unable to answer God for his death". If a relative or courtier of Sanjar rebelled in his realm or province, he was brought chained before Sanjar, Sanjar would set him free immediately. He would only say this much to him: "I forgive you this time; don't revolt again, and throw yourself into the danger of annihilation". As a result of the blessings of his good deeds and his virtues of character, his orders were enforced throughout the whole world. He lived for ninety five years and reigned happily forseventy or eighty years.[651]

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Nasihat No. (XIX). F.204b

On How the Helpers and Supporters of the State ought to be Adorned with High Birth, Noble Lineage and Moeritorious Character so that Governmental Business may be regulated in the Best Possible Way.

Sultan Mahmud has said: O sons of Mahmud and kings, you should know this verse in which God has declared: "Obey Allah, obey the Prophet and obey the rulers from amongst you"[653], and the hadis in which the Prophet (peace and blessings be on him) has said: "All of you will be called, and all of you will be F.205a questioned about your subjects." Observe with your discerning eye and reflect with the serenity of your judgment, that God the Almighty has put the status of the orders of the sovereign ruler on an equality with those of His own, though He is the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds, and with those of His Apostle, who is the distinguished one among men and jins, and the beloved one of the two eternities. How can a helpless son of man repay the debt due to such a bounty? The Prophet (peace be on him) has said: "Every Mussalman is the shepherd of his own house, and he will be questioned about the members of his household". And on the 'Day of Judgment' when every man will be asked about his household, how can the king, who is the ruler of the whole world and responsible for its welfare and disorder, not be questioned about the good and bad of mankind. And since in the inquiries appertaining to a single household, the house-holder will be at a loss to reply, and,

in fact, every man will be equally helpless in replying to inquiries concerning even his own individual soul, what will be the plight of the king from whom an account of the whole world will be demanded?

The king cannot offer his gratitude for such a bounty. How can the king in his heavy and responsible office, F.205b because of which he will be asked concerning every individual, act (according) to the Sharia' in the affairs of government and administration without good helpers, priase-worthy supporters, well-wishers of the Faith, and righteous partisans, who are adorned with good birth, noble lineage and merits of character? How can he discharge the obligations of such a high and delicate office with the assistance and help of the worthless, and the shameless and the support and co-operation of the godless and the wicked, or live with the seventy-two creeds in such a way that tomorrow, on the 'Day of Judgment', he is not unable to render an account of the good and bad of every subject, and is among those who attain to salvation?

All wise men of the world are agreed, that the king cannot personally perform the entire work of government and administration, and that he cannot take unknown persons and strangers into partnership in the affairs of administration. It therefore becomes necessary for him to delegate the work of government to his helpers, supporters, well-wishers and partisans; and to make those near to him his partners by assigning to them the posts of amirs and (governors)[654]. If he

brings a stranger to look after the affairs of government, he cannot feel secure from him. And a stranger also will not feel concerned about the king's work. Whenever the king's supporters, helpers, well-wishers, partisans and followers are base and mean, and are characterised by ignoble qualities, and have no share or portion of religiosity in them, F.206a they throw the work of government into disorder and do all those things, the undertaking of which brings evil to the state and to religion. Even if they bring prosperity to the world, well, this prosperity is brought in right by the enemies of God also. But no actions are accomplished by the worthless, the shameless, the low-born, the mean and the godless, the ultimate end of which is good and through whose actions the king will be honoured in the next world.

This principle has been known by experience to sages, scholars and thinkers of ancient as well as the present community, and there is no disagreement that the base, the low-born and the godless cannot accomplish any task, religious or worldly, which is approved by knowledge and reason. And whenever the king has appointed such wicked men over the religion and state of Mustafa, and made these damned and rejected ones of God his co-sharers and given them a free hand in the discharge of his functions as independent rulers, he ought to be prepared for the answer he will have to submit before the divine throne concerning the deeds of these men which they have performed at the order, authority, and dignity of the king.

Is it not a gross fraud, that the advantages and delights F.206b of power and high office are enjoyed by others, while the king will have to answer for their actions?

But if the king appoints the free-born, the (noble)[655] and the possessors of excellent qualities as his helpers and supporters, then inevitably through their office and command, for by reason of their very nature and character their actions are praiseworthy, the king will not on the Day of Judgment be distressed and bewildered at having to answer for so many thousands and thousands of subjects, though the Prophets and saints, who are among the near ones of the Court of God, will cry, "O my soul, O my soul[656] (نفسی نفسی)" and devotees, hermits, abrar and akhyar will be unable to answer for themselves and for the members of their households.

The sons of Mahmud are to know that the injuries, religious or worldly, suffered by kings have been mostly due to bad supporters, helpers, partisans and well-wishers, for in the intoxication of the power of kingship they have not, in fact, taken care about not promoting the worthless and the shameless (to high offices). The apparent sincerity and the loyalty of the mean and the base-born have blinded their discerning eye, and the desire for immediate prosperity has become an obstacle to their efforts for ultimate welfare. So in this bounty of God i.e. in the supreme rulership, they have made worthless people their partners and have disgraced themselves in this world and the next due to the actions of

these people[657] F.207a

If the king is the victim of (forbidden vices)[658] and base qualities, but his helpers and supporters, who are his partners and co-sharers in administrative affairs, happen to be endowed with high birth, noble lineage and meritorious character, the work of the government will not become unstable: great disorder will not arise at all, and the string of administration will not be let loose. And the king, because of their achievements, will not be questioned in the next world. On the other hand, if the king is adorned with noble qualities and the fear of God is dominant in him, but his helpers, supporters, governors and revenue-collectors are the victim of (vices)[659], then as a result of their wicked deeds disorders will crop up in the conduct of government, and the thread of ~~the~~ administration will be let loose. And the king on account of their words and deeds will suffer disgrace in the next world.

The hakims of to-day and yesterday are agreed, that the merits or vices of the supporters, helpers, courtiers and partisans of the king are a conclusive proof of the merits or vices (as the case may be) of the king himself, because a king endowed with merit cannot on account of his very nature and instinct, enrol anyone who is a victim of vice among the courtiers of his realm or the helpers and supporters of his court. Similarly a king, who is endowed with meanness, cannot by his very nature bear the sight of anyone gifted with merits,

and cannot make him a helper, supporter or courtier of his court. For similarity of type, whether of merit or F.207b of vice, is the source of agreement, association, hospitality and caress between them. On the other hand, between merit and vice there is contradiction and opposition. And both with reference to merit and vice, the superior person is important and not the inferior one. It is because of this fact, that by his very nature a meritorious person cannot bear the sight of a vicious man or a vicious man the sight of a meritorious person. By nature they develop enmity and remain like 660 enemies.

The empire of the Khosroes extended for a very long period from Kaimurs to Khusrau Parwez. The major cause of it was, that the Kisras did not permit any mean, low-born or wicked man, or a man who was a captive of vices, to become their courtier; and they did not enrol the worthless and the sons of the worthless as their helpers and supporters. And as they were of noble and royal descent from the time of Kaimurs, and magnificence, royalty, leadership and greatness had permeated their veins and sinews, they did not permit anyone who was base or low-born to become a courtier in their court or a co-sharer in their supreme rulership; or even to approach the environs of their court. And as they appointed only the high-born, the noblest and the best F.208a to be their helpers, supporters, partisans, well- wishers, as well as the governors and revenu-collectors of their

territories, therefore kingship, power, government and administration remained in their dynasty for several thousand years. Their glory and the glory of their realm were inscribed on the hearts of the inhabitants of the world, and the praises of their good deeds were recorded in books.
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O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, you (ought to) during your fleeting ephemeral rulership follow the sunnah of the Real King of kings in selecting those, whom you will have near yourself, and whom you will make co-sharers and partners in your supreme rulership, so that as a result of their good actions you may become honoured in this world and the next. Almighty God selects only the meretorious and the possessors of virtuous character for nearness to His Court. He distinguishes them with prophethood and saintship and raises them to high spiritual grades and benefits them immensely. He makes them honoured, great, distinguished and noble. No man who is wicked, defiled, a victim of vice or a prey to disappointment and suffering, is allowed a place of nearness and distinction before the divine throne. An august ruler having perfect wisdom always adopts this sunnah of the Almighty God in his transient rule. He makes the meritorious, the F.208b skilled and the sagacious of his country the helpers and supporters of his kingdom; appoints the leaders and the best men of his realm as the chief officers of his court, and assigns governorships, offices and posts only to the honoured ones of his kingdom.

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Although the leaders of the highest and the best will not enter the service of the king, still through numerous favours, beneficence, compassion, courtesy and gifts, the king can succeed in making the select and the chosen people into the well-wishers of his realm. He should not appoint them to the posts and (offices of the 663 incompetent) and the ill-mannered. There has never been, nor is now, as a general rule or as an exception, the hope of any permanent good emanating from the class of the mean and the godless. From the mean and the ignoble, even if they have a hundred victories and achievements, there comes no honour (for the king) either in this world or in the next.

Nausherwan, the Just, has said in his Testament: "O my descendants, who will establish themselves on the throne of Ajam and O rulers of the earth, who will raise your heads to rulership, it is your duty to adorn in your state and kingdom those, whom God has adorned; make the persons adorned by God the near ones of your court, and make them great in your realm F.209a and kingdom, so that through their virtues the realm and the kingdom may be set right, while because of their actions you yourself are crowned with success in this world and do not feel helpless in the world to come. As to those, whom you adorn, you can only adorn them with the material goods of this world you can(not) 664 embellish them with virtuous qualities. Your kingdom can never be set right by those, whom you alone have embellished. But only by those, whom God has adorned can the

affairs of your administration ~~can~~ be set right. So know......

One day the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (may God honour his face!) was giving a sermon from the pulpit of the Juma Mosque of Kufa, and inciting his army-commanders to fight against the rebel, Mu'awiyah. They were certainly slack in marching towards Syria and made lame excuses, while the Commander of the Faithful made various complaints against the defaulters in fighting. A Companion rose on his feet in the assembly and asked the Commander of the Faithful: "No Mussalman doubts, that you are on the right path, and that your Caliphate is legitimate. But how is it that the administration of the Caliphates of Abu Bakr and Umar ran smoothly, whereas yours does not?" Ali wept profusely at the question of the Companion and at last with a sad sigh coming from his F.209b august bosom he replied: "All wise men of the world are agreed, that the good order of the affairs of Caliphate and Sultanat is not attainable without pious and commendable helpers and supporters, and has not been attained (without them) by any Caliph or King. The supporters and helpers of Abu Bakr and Umar were persons like Abu Ubaidah Jarrah, Usman bin Uffan, myself, who am Ali bin Talib, Abdur Rahman Auf, Sa'd Waqas, Talha, Zubair, Salman Farsi, Abu Zar Ghaffari, Abdullah Masud, Khalid bin Walid, Mu'az Jabal and all the Muhajirs and Ansars. All the helpers and supporters of the Prophet (peace be on him) through whose holy wars and valour the Orthodox Faith prevailed over the false creeds, also

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became the supporters and helpers of Abu Bakr (and Umar). Inevitably, because these helpers and supporters (had been) the chosen ones of God and His prophet, their Caliphates ran smoothly. During their rule the whole world came under the charge and the refuge of Islam, and the orders of the Faith were promulgated. But with the supporters I have, and whom you see in this assembly, that how, in this war with Mu'awiyah, whose sedition has become widespread, they are coming forward with numerous excuses and what follies they are committing, how could my Caliphate run smoothly; how could the evil of rebellion be eliminated, and how the territories of Islam be cleared of rebels?

Concerning the testing and appointment of the helpers and supporters if the realm, religious kings have F.210a considered certain conditions to be indispensable.

The first condition for the selection of a person for being included in the category of helpers and supporters of the realm is this, that in him the quest for religion dominates the quest for earthly good, even though it be like a hair's breadth. But if all his efforts are concentrated in seeking (this 667 world), he should not be among the helpers and supporters of the king, for he will not be useful even in worldly affairs. And the greatest mistake, which in this respect religious kings commit, is that in the selection of helpers and supporters, they think exclusively of loyalty and devotion to their own persons. Thus they exalt a man

to high status in their realm, and make him succeed with their power and dignity, and in the end they expect from him good work, fulfilment of promises and loyalty to the salt both during their absence and presence. They form an estimate of his meritorious qualities from his words and actions, but they do not reflect clearly from the very beginning that from a man, whose sincerity and loyalty to them springs out of love for material goods and ambition for dignity, and who in (reality) is a captive and a slave of this world, no such deed can be expected, the ultimate end of which is praiseworthy and commendable. In the garden of religion no fruits can be picked from a truee, the roots of which are strong through love and greed for this world, and which have penetrated to great depths. A man who is not trustworthy in religion is also not worthy of trust F.210b in worldly matters.

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(The second condition for) selecting helpers and supporters is this. The person selected should for certain possess the gift and advantage of free, gentle and noble birth, even if that gift happens to be very meagre. For according to no religion, creed, custom, tradition, opinion and laws, have the base, the mean, the low-born and the worthless been permitted to become the helpers and supporters of the realm. Even if a man of base and low birth is adorned with a hundred merits, he will not be able to organise and administer according to expectation, or be worthy of leadership and trust.

669
(The third condition) in selecting helpers and supporters is this. When a man has been selected and made a helper and supporter of the realm, and admitted to the secrets of the state, he should not be punished except for political crimes and for offences which are related to the (raising of) clamour and envy in the kingdom. Punishment for his other offences, which are due to his inefficiency, negligence, oversight, pursuance of his self-interest - offences from which there is no danger to the state or to human life, is not desirable, and it is not permitted to disgrace him for great or petty affairs concerning the administration of the country.

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(The fourth condition) in the selection of helpers and supporters is this. The king ought to keep in mind the limits in the matter of promotions, favours, kindness and benevolence to his helpers and supporters. He ought to keep them always in the hope of further promotion in their ranks, and must not raise them suddenly to a status above which F.211a there is none more exalted except that of the king. If the King shows excessive favour in the promotion of one of his supporters, then he should neither be annoyed with him too often, nor reject everything he says, nor permit him to be disgraced or dishonoured in any way whatsoever. For if the honour and grandeur of those, who have reached the highest grades of (official) status are injured, even though it be like the grain of a sand, their loyalty ceases to be firm and, in fact, begins to decline. In (the hearts of) such persons

the prestige of the king no longer exists; they begin to act like flatterers, and this soon leads to harmful results. Also on account of the excessive royal favours to some supporters, the loyalty of others, who are their partners and colleagues declines because of their sense of honour and self-respect, and from jealousy and envy matters proceed to animosity[671]........

(The anecdote[672] and illustration) of what Bahram Gur had to face because of his worthless helpers and supporters is appropriate here.

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat[673]...

....................When the throne of Ajam came to be stabilised under Bahram Gut, the world reached a standard of prosperity, which none else has shown from the time of Adam. It has been related, that during the twenty-three years of his reign Almighty God had even removed (the calamity of) death from among mankind, and that houses had so increased due to growing population, that men in order to go from one city to another, had to go from one roof to another. No plot of unbuilt land was to be seen either by the human eye, or even in (dreams)[674]. Barhum Gur, on seeing all this, forgot both F.211b death and the vicissitudes of life; his sensuous self overpowered him; he was dominated by vanity, and became absorbed and plunged in enjoyments and luxuries, music and hunting. A wazir who was mischievous, cruel, beastly, merciless,

corrupt, meanborn and of low origin, obtained ascendancy over Bahram, and Bahram Gur entrusted to him all the major and minor tasks of administration. This low-born tyrant was by his very nature an enemy of the virtuous. He suppressed the supporters and helpers of Bahram Gur, who were chosen and excellent men, by every kind of pretext, and removed the meritorious from amidst. He appointed oppressors, rascals, sinners, liars, misappropriators, reprobates, base, low-born and mean men as helpers and supporters of the state and as governors and qazis of the country. In accordance with the traditions of the ignoble, he appointed to governmental office everyone whom he perceived of his feather in origin and cruel disposition.

As the oppression, cruelty, severity and tyranny of the officers came to be known both in and outside the land, and their injustice began (to affect) even wild animals and birds, beams and trees, all inhabited places were turned into ruins and the royal treasuries were emptied. The troops did not receive their salaries; they fell into destitution and poverty, and took to their own way. Rival rulers captured the frontier regions of Bahram's realm, and Bahram was unable to remain on his throne. He, therefore, came F.212a out of his capital in utter helplessness with a limited number of slaves and took the road to Hindustan. After witnessing hardships and encountering difficulties, he arrived at Kannauj, and became a servant of the Rai of Kannauj; he

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drew the salary of a rawat and had to bear the disgrace of being in service. But as greatness and nobility were manifest on his forehead, the Rai of Kannauj was captivated by his character and infatuated by his hunting. Very soon he summoned Bahram to a confidential interview, and asked about his condition. Bahram narrated to him his story in full, and the Rai on hearing it came to know, who Bahram was. He descended from his throne, embraced Bahram, paid respects to him, and made him sit near his throne. He gave his daughter in marriage to Bahram, appointed thirty thousand horse and thirty thousand foot under Bahram, and gave him twenty elephants, a treasure of valuables and ten thousand horses.

The Rai then said to Bahram: "Go to your capital as soon as possible, capture your country, bring it under subjection and put the wazir along with his colleagues to death, so that the people may have trust in you. Summon the hakims of Ajam and ask the scribes to note down the qualities of those, who are capable of holding the royal offices and worthy of being the helpers and supporters of the royal court. F.212b Get together such people at your portal and court, and make them loyal to your state and realm by favours, kindness, gifts, presents and the assignment of governorships and offices. Devote yourself to affairs of state with the co-operation of such people. And for a time i.e. until your territories have been put in good order, and your administrative affairs have become strong, abstain completely from wine, music and hunting".

Bahram accepted the advice and exhortations of the Rai of Kannauj, who was a great Rai indeed with all his heart and soul. He proceeded to Ajam with the help, the Rai had provided, and when the Persians saw him, they all became loyal and submissive, and came forward to obey and serve him. His rival, who had established himself on the throne of Ajam took to his heels. Bahram established himself on his throne, and brought the country under his control. After his establishment he put the low-born wazir together with other tyrants and criminals to death.

Then he summoned the hakims of Ajam and ordered them to lay down the qualifications of the helpers and supporters without employing whom it was not possible to conduct governmental business. They were to be careful about the matter; they were to consult books on "Administration"; and verify them, and then place them before Bahram's throne. The hakims of Ajam, after reflecting and consulting each other on the matter, laid down the qualifications necessary for the officers of the state and took them to Bahram. Bahram was extremely delighted. He gave presents to these hakims, and made the possessors of qualities laid down by them F.213a in agreement, his helpers and supporters, and treated them as the well-wishers of his government through numerous royal favours. Owing to their work and the result of their merit and skill, the territories of Ajam returned to their original condition, and became prosperous and stable once again.

(The qualifications for the royal helpers and supporters),[677] which the hakims laid down in agreement with each other during the reign of Bahram (are as follows):[678]-

Very great loyalty; perfection of skill in writing accounts; magnetic power for collecting wealth through good designs; capacity for the increase of revenue; correct judgment; perfect understanding; sweetness of speech; handsome countenance; quick-witted; quickness of understanding, intelligence; capacity of solving difficulties; capacity for creating profits; patience without weariness; capacity of advising about religion and state; God-fearing; extremely trustworthy; proverbial efficiency; excellence of manners; good reputation; high born; possession of strength and dignity; moderation in speech;[679] reliability; trustworthiness; sincerity; sternness; dignity; compassionate; sedateness; concealing of (other people's) defects; noble-mindedness; honest to the utmost degree; good birth; honourable ancestry; intelligence; sociability; truthfulness of speech; strength in protecting others; softness of speech;[680] the best-born; the most pious; the most valiant of men; the most just; the most prudent; the most learned; the most religious; the most truthful; noble birth, high lineage;[681] F.213b possessor of intelligence; cheerful; eloquent; good conversation;broad forehead; politeness; acquaintance with the characters of men; possession of knowledge; culture of the highest standard; capacity of intense application;[682] merit

and eloquence; excellence in caligraphy; capacity for writing; capacity for discerning people's characters; keeping of secrets; moderation in association; dignified personality; sagacity;[683] religious; reliable; truthful; lack of greed; foresight; nobility; high ambitions; strength; noble birth; sympathetic disposition; excellence in, manners; patience; seeker of welfare; culture; gifted with the power of introspection; agility of mind;[684] modest; courageous; liberal; good manners; equitable; discharger of obligations; benevolent; sincere; strong; compassionate; experience; seniority and foresight.[685]

686
(Nasihat) No. XX. F.213b

That No One should have an Ascendancy over the King.

Sultan Mahmud says: O sons of Mahmud! You should know and understand, that kingship means dominance, which a man F.214a obtains over a country or territory through terror and power, regardless of the fact, whether he is deserving and rightfully entitled, or is a usurper and has no right. He is called 'king' because of his domination.

687
(If) some one else from among his sons, near ones, wives and slaves obtains a hold over the king himself, so that the king is unable to reject his advice and his demands, then the state of ascendancy is inverted; the ruler becomes the ruled, the men who should dominate becomes subordinate, and the attributes of the ruler change into those of the subject. Further, whenever a man obtains ascendancy over the king, 688 (it does not mean that) the king is totally destroyed..........

The cause for the ascendancy of a man over a king is this. A man of bad faith or bad dogmas obtains a hold over the kind by showing him enchantments, necromancy, knowledge of magic and alchemy or by (providing him with) aphrodisiacs or curing leprosy. He deceives and captivates the king, and spreads his own cult or religion. He misguides the king, and shakes his religious beliefs. Thus Mazdak, the Innovator,

deceived Qubad, Nausherwan's father, with necromancy and magic and published the Din-i-Alhad.[689]

Concerning this Nasihat the account of the injury suffered by the Commander of the Faithful, Usman, owing to the ascendancy of his brothers over him is worthy of credence.

Anecdote illustrating the above Nasihat.[690]

..... It is related in the Tarikh-i-Ghadrus Siyar[691] F.214b that the Commander of the Faithful, Usman (may God be pleased with him) was proverbial among the tribes of the Quraish for his mildness, compassion, patience and modesty. Before his Caliphate his brothers and relations dominated over him, and he bore everything from them patiently. He repaid the injuries and cruelties of his relations with kindness and compassion, and considered nothing permissible without the consent of everyone of his brothers and relations. He had a number of uterine and (step-brothers),[692] and his patience towards his brothers and relations had become a part of his character.

When the Commander of the Faithful, Usman ascended to the throne of the Caliphate, he was able for some years to live with the Ansars and the Muhajirs and with everyone, who had a claim on Islam according to the traditions of the Shaikhain i.e. Abu Bakr and Umar. He assigned the territories and provinces of Islam to their rule and governorship, and did not allow his sons, brothers and relations to partake in the work of government and command. He appointed the helpers

and supporters of Mustafa as his own helpers, and supporters, and gave precedence to claims of Islam over claims of sonship and relationship to himself. Usman was able to achieve this for five years during which he did not (dismiss)[693] any Companion from his office and governorship, and did not bring his brothers and relations into the affairs of the religion of Mustafa.

But ultimately, the brothers and relations of Usman obtained domination over him, and began to interfere with the affairs of the religion and the state. By ruling over F.215a him they had the Companions dismissed from the territories and provinces of Islam, while they themselves became rulers and governors of those lands. Having obtained ascendancy over the people. Marwan Hakam, a mischief-maker and the son of a mischief-maker, became his wazir and dabir, and son-in-law. Mu'awiya, the son of Usman's father's brother, seized Egypt and Syria. Five uterine and (step-brothers)[694] of Usman, who had no claims on Islam whatsoever, became governors and rulers of Islamic territories, which had been conquered by the sword and the valour of the Muhajirs and Ansars. All the tribesmen and followers of the House of Umayyah got control of the affairs (of the state), abd became rulers over God's creatures. They became officers of the religion and the state of the Prophet, and began to conduct the government in opposition to the Sunnah. The governors and rulers of Iraq, Egypt and other territories began to follow the traditions of

the *Khosroes* and the *Ceosers*. They were not frightened of Usman because of any of their innovations. On account of their ascendancy over him, they had become so powerful, that they paid no heed to what Usman wrote to them concerning the need of acting according to the *Sunnah*.

To the Companions, the Muhajirs as well as the Ansars, the actions of the brothers and relations of Usman appeared onerous and extremely difficult to tolerate, and they could not stand the government of the House of Umayyah, who were really the opponents of the House of Hashim. The hearts of the Companions and the leading successors were alienated from Usman because of the dominance of his relations and their control over the kingdom of the Mustafa, for they had no claims whatsoever on early Islam; their minds were distressed, and they abandoned coming to the Caliph. That harmony of hearts, which had existed in the time of the *Shaikhain*, disappeared. The inhabitants of Mecca and Medina were broken up into cliques. To the Bani Hashim, who were the blood-relations of the Prophet, the command of the relations of Usman and the control of the Bani Umayyah over the kingdom of Mustafa appeared extremely difficult to bear, and they began to detest Usman in their hearts. Usman wished repeatedly to dismiss his brothers and relations from provinces and territories, but their (dismissal) proved impossible because of the power, they had obtained.

F.215b

695

As a result of the innovations of the brothers of Usman, there cropped up tumult and disturbances twice or thrice in Medina. Rebellion appeared from every side, and the support of the Companions for Usman decreased. Everyone took to seclusion; the great Companions became hermits in their homes, while tumults appeared in all directions. When Usman saw that the hearts of the Companions were alienated from him, he asked for money and soldiers from his brother and relations, so that with this support he may be safe from the rebels. His brothers only made lame excuses, and sent neither money nor soldiers to Medina. Ultimately the F.216a rebels saw that no one, absent or present, responded to the appeals of Usman, Malik Ushtur entered Medina with a large following; Mohammed Siddiq and many other joined him, and revolted openly. During this great tumult, which was the beginning of all (subsequent) tumults in Islam, not one of his brothers came to the help of Usman in Medina. As they enjoyed power, they paid no attention to the condition of Usman. For a time the rebels and mischief-makers besieged Usman in his own house, and would not allow him to go outside. But when no one came to his assistance, they found their opportunity, and entering his house they martyred that pure soul. At that time the sword first came into action between Mussalmans themselves, and it has remained between them until to-day.

Such was the tumult, that arose, and such were the calamities, that befell due to the ascendancy of the relations of Usman. This event has become a mirror of experience for the kings of Islam, so that they may allow no one to become dominant over themselves.[696]

697
(Nasihat) No. XXI. F.216 a

On How the Attainments of Office and Position by the Mean and the Low-born in the Government of Kings is an Injury to the Kingdom and a Disgrace to the State.

698
.... that all men are born equal, that they are equal in form and appearance, and that every difference whether of good or evil, which appears between men and men F.216b is a consequence of their own nature and the result of their individual actions.

The virtues and vices of men have been allotted at the beginning of creation and linked with their souls. The external acts and deeds of men are God's creation, and whenever Almighty God instils good and evil, or virtue and vice, in a man, He also bestows on him the power of giving expression to that good and evil, virtue and vice.

When at the time of the beginning of the creation, the children of Adam were born, and grew in number, and the world began to be inhabited, people felt the need of each and everything for their livelihood; and the Eternal Designer inspired men's minds with those arts which were necessary for their livelihood. Thus some minds were inspired with its ability to read and write, others with (horsemanship), and yet others 699 with weaving, smithcraft and carpentry. So all the arts, fine ane coarse, from writing and horsemanship to hair-cutting and

tanning, in accordance with the merits and demerits, which by their basic nature had been made their soul's companions, were communicated to their minds and bosoms. The minds of the meritorious, because of their virtuous nature, were inspired with fine arts, while to minds involved in meanness, because of their mean nature, only the baser arts were communicated. In this way men's minds were inspired with numerous arts. They adopted these professions, and devoted themselves to their **F. 217a** practice. These arts, crafts and professions with which men have been endowed (by God) are performed by them efficiently. And they are only enabled to practice their particular crafts efficiently. These arts, fine and coarse became the companions (wives) of their sons and the sons of their sons.

In every age and time these descendants have, in accordance with their quickness of intelligence and acuteness of mind, added further things, which were fine and desirable to the profession of their ancestors, so that every art, craft and profession, on the invention of which mankind depends, has attained to perfection.

And as excellencies (of character) have been allotted to those, who belong to nobler professions, they alone are capable of virtue, kindness, generosity, valour, good deeds, good works, truthfulness, the keeping of covenants, the preservation of other classes, loyalty, clarity of vision, justice, equity, recognition of rights, gratitude for kindness and fear of God. They are (consequently) said to be noble,

free-born, virtuous religious, of high lineage and pure birth. These groups (alone) are worthy of offices and posts in the government and the state of the king, who by reason of his high position as the supreme ruler is set apart as the leader and chief of men. It is due to their actions, that the government and the affairs of the king are strengthened and well arranged.

Whenever the ignoble and the practitioners of the baser arts and the meaner professions have been enrolled, from them shamelessness, falsity, miserliness, misappropriation, F.217b 700 vices, evil, lies, and slanders, ingratitude, filth, injustice, cruelty, non-recognition of rights, impudence, audacity, shedding of blood, rascality, jugglery and godlessness come forward. So they are called low-born, street loafers, base, mean, worthless, stingy, shameless and of impure birth. Every action, which is contaminated with meanness and based on ignomy, comes out of them beautifully. If such people, in whose basic nature meanness and wickedness are ingrained, have developed to perfection by heredity, are honoured by the king as the sovereign lord by posts in the court and the government, then not only are the court and the exalted office of the king disgraced, but God's creatures are also put in distress and distraction by the rule of such men and low-born persons. Moreover the ends of government are not attained because of words and deeds of the ignoble and the bad born, and further

the king faces utter disgrace on the 'Day of Judgment' because of their management of affairs and follies. The promotion of the low and the (low-born)[701] brings no advantage in this world, for it amounts to an act of defiance of the wisdom of creation.[702]..

.....do not ignore the wisdom of creation and do not be haughty in the affairs of government. ~~You should~~ F.218a You should confer distinction upon those and adorn the offices of your realm with those upon whom the Almighty has looked with the eye of favour. Has not He instilled virtue into their souls[703] and brought them into this world for displaying virtuous behaviour and benevolent actions. You should honour and exalt them, and adorn your high offices of government with them. Through their just and equitable dealings with the subjects and their virtuous and generous behaviour, you should hope for your good reputation in this world and salvation in the world to come, and aspire for the fulfilment of promises in your absence, gratefulness for your favours and loyalty to breed from such men. Beware and a thousand times beware, and keep in ignominy, impotence, discredit and of no account, all those upon whom Almighty God has looked with the eye of terror at the time of forming their nature; in whose souls He has instilled meanness and evil, and whom He has brought into this world for the manifestation of wickedness, vice, iniquity, sin, meanness, vile character, shamelessness, impudence, fraud and jugglery.

You should not for any cause or reason whatsoever allow the dignity of your court and throne to be disgraced, dishonoured and rendered of no account and value because of them. On account of their actions, which are the result of their mean character, you are to expect from them only chaos and affliction, confusion and (disorder)[704], oppression, cruelty, disloyalty to bread, non-recognition of rights and ingratitude. Do not obtain a bad reputation in this world and get F.218b yourself caught in the next world due to the words and deeds of the base and evil-born. Do not make God's creatures prisoners under their command, rulership, governership and control. Do not let them come anywhere near your religious and governmental offices. Do not be captivated by the skilfulness and the agility of the low-born and the mean, for the virtues of the base-born are only artificial and not genuine.

The Prophet (peace and blessings be on him) has said about the well-born and the low-born. "The vein is susceptible (العرق دساس)". This means that the good vein and the bad vein draw towards virtue and vice respectively. The meaning of this metaphor is that from the well-born and the noble only virtue and loyalty emanate, while from men of (low birth)[705] and bad birth only wickedness and devastation come forward.

And as the Prophet (peace and blessings be on him), has said: "Indeed, those honoured from amongst you before Allah are the pious amongst you" - it ought to be known, that the impure and the offsprings of the base and the base-born can never be pious. If they discover piety in a base fellow, and a bazaar loafer, then indeed the vein of his ancestors must have (at sometime) had a mixture of high blood.

O sons of Mahmud, you should know that the majority of hakims and wise men of to-day and yesterday, have stated from observation and experience, that the duties of the great offices appertaining to 'administration' have not been well discharged by the low-born and the base. If an evil F.219a person has attained to rulership, he has striven, so far as he could, to overthrow men of good birth, and to elevate the low-born and the base. The ultimate end of the activity of low-born men has never been good. From this class of men loyalty to bread has never been displayed in any contingency. Though through the flattery, agility, show of intelligence and jugglery of the low-born and the mean, some kings have been (beguiled)[706], and appointed such people as their colleagues and confidential officers of their realm, yet in this world, both during their life-time and after they have suffered such wounds, and received such injuries from the base-born they promoted, that regrets for their errors will not diminish (in their minds) until all eternity.

If mean, low, base, sordid, bazaar loafers and cowards are established on the pillow of high office, and they succeed in the performance of their official duties, then according to the rule, 'birds of the same feather flock together', they make people of their own sort their helpers, supporters, colleagues and assistants in the taking of counsel as well as in the work of authority and command. They make the lowest and the meanest their partners and intimates, and give a part and portion of their government to them. They do not, because of their very nature and character, allow the noble, the free-born and the meritorious to touch the affairs of their government; they consider them their enemies, and treat them F.219b as their enemies. They detest the noble-born and strive with their heart and soul to humiliate and overthrow them. Due to the promotion of one base and low-born man, many other base and low-born men acquire offices and become respected and honoured. Further in consequence of the sayings and actions of a group of accursed and base-born men many chasms are created in the work of government; a number of honourable and meritorious men suffer disgrace and dishonour, and are rendered of no standing or account; the noble and the free-born are humiliated and persecuted; meanness shines forth, while merit is suppressed and goes into hiding and seclusion. Only troubles and misfortune arise out of the splendour of the humble-born.

It is related in the <u>Tarikh-i Khorasan</u>,[707] that Kaqub Lais and Umru Lais, the two brothers, were sons of carpenters and men of street. They used to loiter about. Suddenly they raised a tumult; gathered a following and collected a treasure. Through the strength and the number of the bazaar loafers, low-born men and wealth obtained by force, they called themselves 'kings'. (For thirty-one years)[708] they desolated and (plundered)[709] Khorasan and Mawaraun Nahr. They injured the territories of the Capital of the Caliphate, and set their heart upon the capital. They marched with their troops in the direction of Baghdad. The idea behind this is, that during their kingship these two bazaar loafers entrusted every office of government and counsellorship to the ignoble, the base and bazaar loafers. They made their own relatives and men of F.220a their own type their helpers and supporters of state. On account of their very nature, they considered the free-born, the noble and men of good birth to be their enemies; they tried to overthrow and uproot them and they would not let any noble or well-born man come near the offices of their government. During their reign the noble and the free-born being absolutely reduced to destitution in Khorasan migrated in different directions, and Khorasan was all empty of great men and the sons of great men. Like the former days it did not remain full with noble, free-born, respectable and virtuous men. It is related that ultimately the Samanids by the order of the Caliph of Baghdad suppressed the evil of these two low-born

brothers, freed the cities and territories from them and obtained from the Capital of the Caliphate the kingship of Khorasan and Mawaraun Nahr. Then those low-born and bazaar-loafers, who had become the helpers, supporters, officers and partners of these carpenter-boys became the agents of the Samanids for extirpating and over-throwing their families, followers, women and children, and snatched their wealth. They strove to extirpate and overthrow those, who had entrusted those low class men with governmental offices and lands. They captured the wives and daughters of these carpenter-boys, took possession of their slaves and slave-girls, and took the lead in erasing the name and traces of their own benefactors from the earth.

The Samanids, who were kings of noble birth, good F.220b repute and piety, gained experience by witnessing the breach of promise and ingratitude of these bazaar loafers, who had acquired leadership. To those who are apt to take warning, Time reveals the ingratitude, lack of faith, disloyalty to salt, and the wickedness of the mean, the low, the worthless and the ignoble. In its own language time says: "Beware! Do not exalt the low-born and the base to greatness, for you will receive injury from them".

Concerning this Nasihat the account of Mahmud and his *wazir*, Isfaraini, is appropriate here.

710
(Anecdote) illustrating the above Nasihat.

711
.... When (Sultan Mahmud) reached the precincts of Ghaznin, he beheld at a distance some fifty or sixty women dressed in paper garments, and holding their locks in their hands. They all came forward lamenting and crying, "Redress! Redress!" At the cry for redress of these oppressed women the bright atmosphere turned dark in Mahmud's eyes, and the seven members of his body started shivering. He said to himself: "O God, what has happened? During the life of Mahmud andin the capital of Mahmud how great has oppression become, that so many injured persons are crying for redress!"

He immediately summoned these old and helpless women before him and asked: "Who are you? What is the injustice done to you? Against whom do you seek redress?" All the women in similar language and to the same effect, replied: "We seek redress against Isfaraini, your wazir. It is for more F.221a than six months, that he has imprisoned our sons, brothers and husbands in the prison of the Diwan-i-Wizarat. He treats them harshly without any cause. He has taken from them all that they possessed, and now demands more money with violence".

Mahmud put the women in charge of one of his confidents, and ordered him to keep them during the night in an empty house; to supply them food and drink and to present them before the court next morning. He was to comfort them, so that they may feel secure and plead their case against the wazir with full emphasis.

When Mahmud reached home, through that anxeity he neither ate nor slept satisfactorily. He wept profusely the whole night long, and wriggled like a snake with a severed tail. He said to himself: "If such is the state of affairs of Mahmud's justice and equity in Ghaznin, where he himself resides, what will be the condition of the oppressed outside?" Mahmud resolved unto himself, that if the case of redress for injustice was proved against the wazir,Isfaraini, he would make him a warning for mankind.

When morning dawned, Mahmud went to his royal court, and ordered all the religious scholars and great men of Ghaznin to be summoned to an assembly before the throne. This was done accordingly, and everyone occupied his seat according to his status and position in the assembly. Mahmud ordered the women, who had sought redress, to be presented before the throne. In the presence of the assembly, the great men questioned them: "What injustice has been done to you, and who has wronged you?" These women narrated their F.221b case before the great men in the assembly in the same way as they had done before Mahmud.

Mahmud ordered the wazir, Isfaraini, to get up from his seat of wizarat, to stand before the women and answer their complaints. He was not to take his seat until he had finished answering them.

The wazir smiled and requested the great men in the assembly to act as his witnesses. "If these women can prove

against me one-hundredth of the complaints they have made to Mahmud", he replied, "I will consider the shedding of my blood to be lawful; and Mahmud can put me to death in whatever way he thinks proper, and destroy my household".

After having stated this condition, the wazir asked permission: "Order should be given that the complainants against me be presented, so that they may lay their charges against me without the interposition of these women".

The great men of the assembly said unanimously: "The wazir says the right thing. In every case the presence of both the complainant and the defendant is necessary".

Mahmud ordered the prisoners also to be presented before the throne. On seeing them Mahmud asked them to come nearer, and comforted them saying: "Don't you be frightened. Put forward your complaint against the wazir without any fear. I will get you your due from him."

All these prisoners lowered their heads in shame, their faces went pale and their ears rose up. After a pause they said: "The wazir has committed no injustice upon us". F.222a.

Mahmud asked them: "Why then have you been put in fetters and chains?" They all replied, "We owe arrears to the Ministry of Revenue, hence we are in fetters".

Mahmud then inquired: "Does this wazir demand money from you out of kharaj and jizya due from the subjects or out of your salaries, stipends and perquisites?" The prisoners replied: "We have received all our dues, allowances and

salaries. This money is due from us out of the original sum".

Mahmud again asked the prisoners: "How much is due on each of you?" One of them replied: "I have to pay fifty thousand". Another said: "Sixty thousand", and a third uttered: "Seventy thousand". "What have you done with this money?" Mahmud inquired. The prisoners replied differently: "We paid our creditors. We arranged for the marriages of our daughters and our sisters with this money. We behaved extravagantly, and spent it in sin and iniquity. We asked for the daughters of the well-born, who were of poor means, and we deceived their guardians with the money, and thus they have contracted marriage alliances with us".

The wazir represented: "Let order be issued for inquiry to be made into their origin and descent". When investigations were made into their origin and birth, most of them werefound to be the sons of tavern-keepers, butchers and (weavers).[712] Their ancestors were base, low-born and bazaar-loagers. F.222b.

"Why did you entrust work and offices to these low-born men?" Mahmud asked the wazir. "They served me for years", the wazir replied, "and they displayed agility before me; and every task which I entrusted to them, they performed it swiftly in my presence. I was beguiled by their alacrity, and failed to exercise caution about their origin and birth. I affirm this fault on my part, and will undertake to do whatever is ordered".

Mahmud's heart was moved with compassion at the truthfulness of the prisoners. He set them free, and gave them to the old women, who had asked for redress. But he ordered deeds to be taken from them, that they would not in future come near the work and offices of the Revenue Ministry; that they would cast off from their minds the vain arts they had learnt, and that they would take to agriculture as villagers, and thus pass their days.[713]

It became still more clear and convincing to all the great men in the assembly, that noble affairs and delicate duties cannot be efficiently performed by the low class and low-born men, even if they appear to be clever and intelligent.

Whatever the ancients have prohibited in this connection is entirely correct, for it was made evident to them through a wealth of experience.

714
(Nasihat) No. XXII F.222b

On the Advantages of the King's Preservation of Ancient (royal and noble) Households.

715

.... that in ancient days and olden times in Ajam, Rum, Yamen, India, Syria, and F.223a Egypt, kingship was confined to royal dynasties of every country, and the desire for usurpation and kingship did not come to the heart of any other class of men. Thus in Ajam, if a ruler did not belong to the dynasty of the Khosroes, the people would refuse to pay allegiance to any non-Khosroe ruler. Similarly in Rum, if the ruler did not hail from the dynasty of the Ceasers, the inhabitants of Rum would not bow their heads in submission before him or render obedience to him. Whenever this principle becomes accepted and customary among the people for generations and ages, (the rule of) usurpation ceases to operate; no one from any other section can raise a tumult and seize the throne of a country or territory by force. And since among the ancients kingship was hereditary, so whenever a king died, one of his sons according to his hereditary claim and nomination by the deceased king, ascended to the throne. Their sons would retain in office the old supporters and helpers of their father's kingdom and would not molest any leader, tribal chief or household.

This system and practice appeared extremely desirable.

But after the termination of the rule of these monarchs, to whose dynasties thrones had been confined, kingship came to be established by usurpation and force in many countries, and no attention was paid to the origin and descent of kings. Anyone, who succeeded in obtaining power, prestige and a following by any means whatsoever, established himself over a country or territory, overthrew its owner, called himself F.223b 'king', and obtained rulership.

Now whenever a usurper attains to kingship, inevitably his supporters, helpers, well-wishers and courtiers collect round him; and because of them, many other households and families also gather together. More or less some fifty thousand persons, men and women, old and young, slaves and youths become unified in words and actions due to his royal patronage, they become such helpers and supporters of his regime, that he is able to rule at their strength.

This evil practice of kingship found its origin among the kings of Islam from the time of the Yazidis and the Marwanids, and has become customary since then. If a king is removed from the throne by natural death or is killed, and another king establishes himself on the throne, with or without hereditary right, then it is not possible for the latter to rule, unless he has overthrown the helpers, supporters, household and family of the previous king, cut their wings and feathers, and organised a new body of his own

helpers and supporters in their place.

If, on the other hand, he retains the helpers and supporters (of the former king), and leaves them confirmed on their offices and positions in the government and the realm, they will not become the helpers and supporters of his government, but will, on the other hand, strive for his ruin and destruction. They will repose no trust in the new king, nor the new king will do so in them. This untoward event has become known to men of experience through observation and investigation. F.224a

Among the Mussalmans this misfortune came through the Omayyad Sultans, who have been (called) Yazidis and Marwanids.[716] During the era of the Companions of the Prophet, the government of the Muslim countries belonged by right to the Orthodox Caliphs on the basis of appointment by their predecessors and the agreement of the people. The Caliphate devolved upon the Commander of the Faithful, Hasan, son of Ali from the Commander of the Faithful, Ali. Ali and Hasan, son of Ali belonged to the tribe of Hashim. Mu'awiyah, Yazid and the Marwanids were only able to govern for eighty years, because by every means in their power, they had overthrown the House of Hashim and their helpers, supporters, friends and well-wishers, and blackened their own faces in this world and the next. Also until Abu Muslim Maruzi had sought vengeance for the Family of the Prophet from the Omayyad Sultans and

totally overthrown and uprooted (the supporters of) Mu'awiyah, Yazid and the Marwanids, the Caliphate of the House of Abbas did not become possible at Baghdad.

Mahmud says: "O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, If you claim to belong to Mohammad's Faith and consider yourself to be true believers and Mussalmans, you will consider this tradition in kingship to be a grievous evil, misfortune, calamity and untoward event. You should reflect with a clear mind on how this bad practice and wicked custom has become customary among the kings of Islam. First, without any right, external or domestic, they seize a territory; then on grounds of some political or religious expediency, they obtain permission and sanction for this usurpation and conquest from the Capital of the Caliphate. In addition to this, for the protection and preservation of their own persons, which are in any case ultimately doomed to destruction and death, they subdue and reduce to distress and destitution a number of houses, families, and tribes of the preceding king by every measure, that is available to them. Some they spare, others they kill, some they imprison, others they exile; while some they punish by confiscation of their property. Because of the weakness of their religious faith, they do not care for Islam and the rights of the Mussalmans; and no thought of the answer, they will have to submit on the 'Day of Judgment', ever crosses their minds. To this kind of 'overthrowing', they give the designation of

F.224b

'political expediency.'"

The love and desire for kingship makes them so blind that this never occurs to their hearts or crosses their minds: "If I deal in this way with someone and overthrow his wives, sons, family, followers, friends and well-wishers for no political or religious crime, and follow such an accepted tradition, then he who steps into my shoes will do just the same with me." Thus it may be said, that by following the traditions and the practices of the irreligious, they overturn and destroy their own wives, sons, helpers, supporters and allies with their own hands. What a heinous fraud they are guilty of by overthrowing the innocent, for on their necks will lie the responsibility for this slaughter on the F.225a 'Day of Judgment'! And as a result of the consequences of this policy, which they call 'political expediency', neither they, nor will their dynasty remain permanent, and nor will there be any security for their helpers and supporters. At the time of overthrowing the old families, the king, who overthrows them says in a language of his self experience: "You, O king, who establish yourself in my place, ought to overthrow my helpers and supporters in the same way as I have done with the helpers and supporters of the previous king, so that it may be possible for you to rule just as it has become possible for me to do so. And if you do not act, as I have done, my helpers and supporters will not allow you to

rule even for a single day. You ought to have the same regard for 'political expediency' as I have."[717] ....

....

overthrow so many men at mere sight and suspicion. For a few days of worldly prosperity You should not carry with yourself enemies of life and property to the 'Day of Judgment'. You should not be deceived by the worshippers of this world, who against the word of God and His Prophet issue a fatáwa, that it is permitted to the king to imprison and kill Mussalmans on grounds of 'political expediency'. If his judgment is sane, the king will at least realise this much for certain: "Whatever I do to the sons, wives, helpers and supporters of others, they will mete out the same treatment to my sons, wives, helpers, supporters, family and tribe. They will play the same game as I have played"[718] F.225b

....

How sweet it seems and how appeasing it appears to vanity and ambition, when a newly established king calls a few supporters to sit before him and conducts 'a confidential meeting'! One of them takes pen and paper in his hands to make a list of those who are to be overthrown, and another one says: "That person ought to be overthrown with his family and followers, for he will never wholly and completely become one of us. Thus he ought to be killed in such a way; his wife and sons ought to be given to another man in such a manner; his tribe and followers ought to be scattered in such

a fashion, and his property and goods ought to be given to that confidential and trusted officer, who is a well-wisher of this exalted personality (the king), so that his power and dignity may increase, because this contributes to the (enhancement) of the power and the dignity of the king himself. Political expediency demands, that it should be settled on these lines". Another person at this meeting reminds them of another officer and well-wisher of the former king and has his name put down in the list of those, who are going to be overthrown in the interests of the good of the kingdom. He gives reasons for overthrowing this officer, and shows that his reasons are justified on grounds of the well-being of the government. At that moment, due to the conversation of men sitting before him, the king's conviction in their loyalty becomes firm, and he considers them to be his chosen and faithful followers; they, on their part become more loyal because of royal favours and kindness, and proceed to F.226a further strengthen the acknowledgment of their loyalty by overthrowing others.

They call this meeting the Royal Advisory Council. Many people are not permitted to be present at this confidential meeting, and mere sight-seers are sorely grieved with the desire to become its confidential members. They do not know, and on account of the blindness of their eye-balls, they cannot perceive, that the doors of Paradise are closed, because

of the results of the deliberations of a meeting, which, in contradiction to the 'Word' of God and His Prophet, resolves firmly to put to death and destroy a group of Mussalmans, and that the faces of these(defiers),[719] who design and act in violation of the Sharia and the hadis of Mustafa will become black on the 'Day of Judgment'.

Time laughs at them and utters in its own language: "O, you foolish, stupid, arrogant, blind, thoughtless and wanton creatures know for certain, that whatever you have said, done, heard and planned with regard to your predecessors, others will also within a short period undertake, propose, plan and design about your wives, children, tribes and followers on the same pattern, and they will do just, what you have done. Then why do you wield your two-handed sword for your own death and ruin by attempting to overthrow your predecessors and their families? Why do you consider your own welfare and that of your kingdom and your power to lie in the destruction of the Mussalmans? After all, are you not giving others a fatawa decree for your own destruction? F.226b They will say and do exactly what you have said and done to them. Then why, O fools and enemies of your own wives, children and families, do you not think of some thing by which Mussalmans may (always)[720] be able to survive? Their families and followers may not be molested, deprived of their lives and of their property from the very roots, and scattered and

ruined, so that you and your families will also not be overthrown and rendered destitute. And as to the punishment and retaliation, that will be your share on the 'Day of Judgment' for overthrowing others, consider that a separate issue. But you, your sons, helpers and supporters will within a short period face what you are doing; hear what you are saying; witness what you are planning for others, and taste what you are letting others taste".

The great men of religion and government have remarked: "The decline of the power of a king can be regarded near at hand, when he feels strong, because no partner, opponent or molestor of his kingdom has survived, and when he has removed all these from whom there was any fear or suspicion of opposition. In this situation his trust in God declines and his faith in the support of God diminishes. All his trust and hope in his helpers and supporters and in the clearing of the country from all opponents.[721] .... F.227a let this calamity not befall you, that you extirpate the helpers, supporters, household and families of Mahmud, for they can all become your helpers and supporters. Mahmud has no more fear from you than this - that your own old followers will creep before you and call themselves Masudis and Mahmudis. They will give the helpers and supporters of Mahmud, everyone of whom is a hillock of religion and a universe of loyalty, the designation of 'Mahmudis'. They will cast it into your

mind, that Mahmud has a number of sons and grandsons; that if the Mahmudis capture any part of the country, they will put one of them on the throne; that you ought to organise your own helpers and supporters, and that for this reason you should extirpate the helpers and supporters of Mahmud. But you will never be able to find helpers and supporters, who are so loyal and so faithful.

But these few advices of Mahmud are for that monarch, whose father and grandfather had not been kings, and who, having obtained kingship by usurpation or by the appointment of the people, desires on account of his shallow judgment to overthrow completely the helpers and supporters of the old regime and to bring in his own men so that his government may become stabilised. The advice of Mahmud is also intended for the king, whose kingdom is hereditary and old, but into whose mind Satan infuses the thought that he should bring all the helpers and supporters of the state from his own individual family and organise them in such a way, that everyone in office becomes his servant and slave, so that the kingdom may belong permanently to his dynasty, and may never depart from it and go to another. F.227b

Concerning this Nasihat Mahmud's treatment of the Simjuris, the dynasty from which the territory of Ghaznin devolved upon Mahmud, and the preservation of the sons of kings of Ajam by Alexander are worthy of credence.

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(Anecdote) illustrating the above Nasihat

O sons of Mahmud! you should know, that the territories of Ghaznin and Khorasan came to Mahmud from the Simjuris. Mahmud's father and grandfather were not kings. Almighty God granted victory to Mahmud over the Simjuris; a mandate of kingship in the name of Mahmud came from the Capital of the Caliphate, and Mahmud ascended to the throne of Ghaznin. Before this the Simjuris had held the kingship of Khorasan and Ghaznin for years. There was no disagreement concerning (the fate of) those amongst them as had turned against the Capital of the Caliphate, and had rebelled and were killed in battles and skirmishes. But Mahmud was quite worried about the treatment of those helpers and supporters of the Simjuris, who had survived with their tribes, followers, horsemen and foot, and had not been killed in the battles. That if Mahmud was to follow the tradition of kings of weak religious faith, who consider religion as a 'child's play', shed the blood of thousands of innocent persons out of love for their kingdom and its permanence; bring the property and goods of the Mussalmans to their treasury; give the property, women, children slaves and slave-girls of the supporters of the preceding regime to their own supporters, so that with this wealth their own supporters may attain to power and dignity; they reduce the tribes and followers of their predecessors to
723
dust and ashes, and consider (this) to be indispensable for

the preservation of their own rule and power and the F.228a strengthening of their own government, and if he deals with the Simjuris as those, who do not fear God, do then the Muhammedan religion, the Hanafite community, his true faith and the essential (call) of Islam would catch hold of his skirt, and shake his beard. But if he was to leave them safe and sound and cause them no harm, he was afraid that as his kingdom was newly established, as none of the policies of the government had achieved firmness, as the wings and feathers of his supporters had not yet grown, as a considerable number of Simjuris had survived; as their families and households had unity, then it could be, that they would raise a tumult, and they would overthrow Mahmud and cause destruction, for they had held the country for the last one or two generations, and the subjects were loyal and appreciative of them. Whenever the position is such, the fire of their mischief would soon be lighted, and would quickly burst into flames.

Mahmud passed several days in reflection. Ahmad Hasan (Arsalan Jazib)[724], Altun Tash, Ali Kheshawand and those, who were Mahmud's confidential counsellors discussed this matter with him every day. Mahmud took into consideration their religious piety, and observed that they too were not happy about overthrowing so many prosperous households and families. It was only because of political expediency, that they said, that these families ought to be overthrown. Ultimately a list

of the names of the surviving Simjuris was drawn up. Mahmud ordered them to be divided into groups and categories, and a different order was issued for each group. Thus, for example two hundred persons from among their leaders and F.228b distinguished men and some (three or four[725] hundred) persons from amongst their courtiers, officers and chosen people were selected for execution. Approximately three or four thousand persons - men and women, young and old, were selected for exile to distant lands. Some six or seven hundred men from among revenue-collectors, government officers, agents, and allies of the Simjuris were brought out to be chained, imprisoned and fined. About seven or eight (thousand)[726] persons from among their wives, children, slaves, slave-girls, relations and kindred were listed to be taken out of every tribe. The harems (of the Simjuri) kings, their sons, daughters, daughters-In-Law, followers, relatives and kindreds were jotted down separately, and the plan for dealing with them was prepared. Their properties estimated at about one thousand or two thousand villages and gardens and a hundred or more palatial houses, were made the property of the king. Their wealth, gold, silver, and belongings were collected.

This {scheme for destroying}, (dispersing)[727], killing, exiling and molesting these people appeared extremely onerous to Mahmud. Mahmud was not satisfied with these punishments

on the basis of (mere) doubt and suspicion. His virtues of a (good) Mussalman made the taste of kingship bitter in his mouth. On Thursday night (شبِ جمع) Mahmud was awake as usual, and devoted himself to his post-midnight prayers. He rubbed his humble forehead on the dust of devotion; he was weeping, praying and lamenting while in prostration that a voice came from above, from the right side and from the direction of the Qibla: "O Mahmud, there is a tomorrow after today, and there is a reward for every good and evil." When this voice reached his ears, he realised that it was an invisible voice from heaven, and that Almighty God had good designs towards poor Mahmud, for He was making Mahmud hear this advice and admonition at a time, when he was thinking of overthrowing so many people. Until dawn he did not sleep. F.229a

When the day dawned, he summoned the leading mystics, religious scholars and distinguished men of Ghaznin and held an assembly. In their presence he took the great Holy Book in his hands and in the name of God, His Apostle, (other) prophets, angels and saints, he took an oath to the effect, that so long as he was alive he would not shed the blood of a true believer in the Unity of God in the interests of the preservation of and in love for his kingdom, and that he would not behave arrogantly towards the wives, sons, and children of Mussalmans. He then placed that godless plan

and that unIslamic scheme before the assembly of the great men.

Those who had been noted down for the award of capital punishment, Mahmud handed over to their wives and children along with the expenses of their journey, and exiled them in groups of forty and fifty to far off foreign lands. He took a deed from them to the effect, that everyone of them, who remained behind in the country or returned to it would be striving for his own death. Those, who had been enlisted for exile, he assigned two or three hundred of them to his loyal servants, who were governors of extensive territories. They were to be provided with sufficient food, clothes and other requisites, and were to be kept in distant cities like captives. As to those,who had been kept apart from the rest to be chained, fettered, imprisoned and fined, he ordered, that they should submit their accounts to the Ministry of Accounts in the usual manner. If anything was due from them out of the original[728] (dues)[729], they were to pay it. But for three or four years, until the government of Mahmud was firmly established, they were not to evince any desire for being an officer or a revenue-collector, but were to[730] (sit) unemployed in their corners. Regarding those who had been selected for being taken out of their tribes, he ordered his tribal chiefs and his helpers and supporters to form (marriage) alliances with their chiefs in accordance with the Sharia; and make them their kinsmen through kindness

F.229b

and favour, and associate with each other. He ordered the harems of the former kings, their daughters, daughters-In-Law, their wives and their relations to be kept in forts near the capital. And all that these delicate women needed for their food and (clothing) [731] was to be supplied to them, but apart from a few slaves and slave-girls no one was to be allowed to visit them. The sons and sons-in-law of the preceding kings, along with the sons of their sisters and brothers, were despatched to the furthermost boundaries of India. Mahmud wrote to the governors of India, that they were to be kept separately in different towns and villages. One or two villages were to be assigned to these for their maintenance; horsemanship, riding and hunting were prohibited to them, but not the practice of other arts. He ordered his chiefs to keep as a trust the F.230a property, gold, houses, valuables and houses of the supporters of the Simjuris; and when after a few years all ideas of vanity and leadership had vanished from their minds; the hearts of the inhabitants of the kingdom had been reconciled to Mahmud's government, and his temporal rulership had become firm, the property of all the helpers and supporters of the Simjuris was to be returned to their owners.

Mahmud put this scheme into operation about these people in the presence of the assembly. He performed a prostration in thankfulness, that in such a contingency and necessity the blood of no Mussalman had been shed, that he had not resorted

to any cruel methods, which transgressed the limits (of the Holy Law) and which were in violation to the Laws of Truth, and that no effort had been made to deprive the people of God of their lives. He looked at the tradition of the Prophet with his discerning eye: "Man is the building of God: he who destroys him, destroys the building of God". And in reward for his abstention from shedding the blood of Mussalmans at the beginning of his rule, Almighty God blessed his entire reign, for throughout the period of his rule no calamity befell him through which he might have had to smear his hands (with blood) out of love for his kingdom and its endurance[732] without the sanction of the Sharia.

Furthermore Alexander's treatment of the sons of kings, whose fathers were killed in his wars with Dara, while the sons themselves and their helpers, supporters, tribes and followers were left in various territories and provinces, is a well-known one. When Alexander overthrew Dara and captured Iraq, the whole of Ajam fell into his hands and (his scheme of) world conquest was realised. In order that during his absence no disturbance or revolt may arise in the kingdom of Dara, Alexander proposed to put to death the sons of F.230b the kings of the territories of Iraq and to uproot totally the families of five hundred or one thousand years standing, and to appoint his own men in their place. He intended to follow the same policy, whenever he (conquered)[733] any new territory.

This great plan having come to Alexander's mind, he wrote to Aristotle and sought his opinion on this important design. Aristotle wrote to Alexander in reply: "I am surprised how (the thought) of this patent cruelty has come to the mind of the king, which is a mirror of the celestial world, that nobles and the sons of nobles, who have been brought up for years amidst nobility and leadership, and as the result of whose virtuous conduct illustrious families and households have become firm and remained stable, should be executed; that families, which have come to be formed in generations and ages with the power, help, assistance and good qualities of each other, should be destroyed and desolated. Instead of the sons of kings a people of obscure descent should be established, about whose life, manners, character and qualities nothing is known, and whose ancestors have not been related to the great.[734] Through such an undesirable and unworthy (order) you will let yourself and your sons and your family be overtaken by countless enemies until the 'Day of Judgment'. You will assign territories and lands to those, who have no claim of personal merit or hereditary right, and who will make your subjects the captives of their mean qualities. You do not keep an eye on the ultimate end of your affairs and those of your descendants and your morals". F.231a

When Alexander read Aristotle's letter, he commended his judgment and renounced his plan. He divided the territories of

Iraq into several parts, confirmed them on the sons of kings, and assigned rulership to them on his own behalf. He did not overthrow any family or household. The kings and their sons, whom Alexander had appointed, are referred to in history as Muluk-ut-Tawaif. On account of the commendable treatment, which he extended to these sons of kings, his reputation has survived in the world.[735]

It is necessary and obligatory on the sons of Mahmud and all religious kings to follow with regard to governmental affairs the practice of monarchs, whose government has been the source of their good name and fame in this world, and their religion, which is the substance and real object of all endeavour, has flourished because of their actions.

736 (Nasihat) No. XXIII.

F. 231a

On Certain Mean Qualities, which do not go well with the High Quality of Kingship.

Sultan Mahmud has said: O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, you should know that the quality of kingship is indeed a very high one, and no relationship is found when meanness is united with this greatness. And just as God Almighty by sending prophets lays mankind under an obligation, and calls them a divine bounty for mankind, similarly by the appointment of kings, too He displays His kindness both towards the ruler and the ruled. The most exalted God says: "And when Moses F.231b told his people "O people, remember the bounty of Allah on you, when He sent among you kings, and He gave to you what He has not given to anyone else in the world."[737]

Since kingship is a divine bounty, hence it will not associate with mean qualities. If the two are found mixed together (in any ruler), he is a usurper, and (not)[738] a king. The great men of the religion and the kingdom of Mustafa (peace be on him) have considered high qualities and virtues of leadership among the indispensable conditions of kingship, so that through the king's commendable character and virtues the important affairs of government may be conducted according to the will of the Almighty; the orders of religion and government may be strengthened, and affairs of state may be stabilised according

to the Holy Laws of the prophets. For by the enforcement of theorders of the *Sharia* God's creatures attain to salvation and high spiritual grades; the wisdom behind the creation of mankind becomes manifest; the inhabited world becomes still more prosperous; the people are organised and put in good order, and they remain organised and in good order.

If the Almighty looks upon the people of a country with the eyes of wrath, and wishes them to remain in toil, labour, suffering, tyranny, distress and disorder, he appoints over them a king, who is the slave of innate meanness and F.232a depraved characteristics, so that they may be oppressed as a result of his temperament and evil habits, and be all scattered and desolated as a result of his depraved qualities. Besides, the mean qualities of the king lead to more depravity in his subjects, and as a consequence of the evil of the king and those of his subjects in whom meanness becomes (innate)[739], depraved character becomes so wide-spread that all people cease to consider it a blemish. Since their chief and leader is sunk in depravity, even the virtuous turn towards mean qualities. It is a long time when this proverb was framed; "*People follow the religion of their rulers*,"[740] and "*Birds of the same feather flock together*". The king is attracted towards the captives of depravities in accordance with the rule, that men of similar type are drawn towards each other, and all officers of his realm become involved in vice. Because of the increasingly evil deeds of officers, who are victims of

meanness, and the evil behaviour of those (in power), evil and vice multiply from (time to[741] time) among mankind at large; rectitude is overpowered by corruption, good by evil, obedience by sinfulness, virtue by vice, (good[742] deeds) by wickedness, justice by tyranny, and virtuous behaviour by bad conduct; vice gains precedence and supremacy over virtue, and due to the preponderance of wickedness and corruption, virtue and rectitude become as good as non-existent. Whenever the world (is filled[743]) with innumerable vices and evil, in consequence of their inauspicious effect calamities and misfortunes pour from the sky again and again. The continuous occurrence of these calamities renders people sick of their existence; life and death appear same to them, and no comfort or joy being left in their lives, they all start longing for death.

F.232b

In short there are some mean qualities, which can never go with the high dignity of kingship.

The <u>first</u> mean quality, which can never be assimilated with the prestige of kingship and the exalted position of the ruler, and if mixed, it creates distress - is speaking lies.

False speech is considered blameworthy in all religions and is (one[744] of) the greatest vices. If a quality is wrong and blameworthy in a (private) individual, how great will be the injury and harm caused, if found existent in a king, who is the leader and ruler of mankind, and how can it go with the quality of kingship? And if the two are mixed, how can the

reproach and (fine)[745] for it be brought within comprehension.

Wise men have said: "A man utters a lie either through his meanness, which has become his habit and trade, or out of need, necessity or disappointment.[746] A king who has been endowed with honour, power and success, there is no compulsion or need for him to utter lies. Consequently, his speaking lies is due to nothing but meanness, which has become a habit and a characteristic with him, and this is a disgrace for him. His false speech is the cause of people's ruin and desolation. Wise men and hakims do not regard him to be a king and they call him, and they consider him to be an imposterous(ruler).[747] F.233a

When it becomes the habit and trade of the king to utter lies, the people are apt to consider it a misfortune for their own lives, and all the truthful men of his kingdom will turn liars. Moreover the truths of Islam, which are all based upon uprightness, cannot remain firmly established through mean qualities. The Holy Prophet has said: "The True Believer may (if need be) commit adultery and theft, but he does not speak lies". How can a mean quality, which is dirtier and more heinous than adultery and theft, go with the high qualities of sovereignty, and how can it remain stable through mean qualities, which are detested and condemned by entire mankind? The confidence of the people in the word and pen of the king is the sum and head of the task of government and the pillar of the affairs of rulership. Whenever that basis is shaken due to king's utterance of lies, all affairs of the kingdom and

policies of administration are thrown into confusion and disorder.

The wise men of to-day and yesterday have related: "Every royal merit or demerit will be adopted by the subjects. The nobles among the subjects will develop every virtue that the king possesses, whether he allows them to do so or not, so that according to the principle of 'Birds of the same feather flock together', they may be loved ones and the honoured ones of the king. The royal vices have the same effect. If F.233b the king is famous for one well-known merit, all the distinguished men of his realm will attain that merit by imitation, so that according to the rule of 'birds of the same feather flock together', the king may become inclined towards them. Thus, if the king is given to devotion, all men who partake human traits, be occupied in devotion and become pious. If the king is a good calligraphist, the nobles also try to be good of calligraphy. If the king has a poetical mind and composes verses, all people take to poetry and the composition of verses. If the king is a scholar, all persons, because they are provided with bread and stipends, take to education. The same ought to be inferred with reference to (king's) demerits. If the king is a liar, then inevitably and by his nature he will prefer liars, and most people of the country will take to uttering lies. If the king is a drunkard and thus takes to wine drinking, all those who refrain from wine will start drinking".

As the actions and qualities of the king influence his subjects, the Orthodox Caliphs have said: "The virtuous actions of rulers warn their subjects more than their words, against things unlawful and forbidden". For example, if the ruler drinks, utters lies, commits breach of promise, and displays injustice, and forbids drinking, lying breach of promise and tyranny to the people, no one will lend ears F.234a to his advice or be warned. But if he does not drink, or speak lies, or break promises, or behaves ruthlessly, his virtues and actions will (warn most people against these bad actions),[748] even if he does not so command. And one wisdom behind the principle, that "<u>the true Imam ought to be innocent</u>" is that his orders concerning forbidden things bear fruit. The prophets have been created innocent, and therefore they are worthy of being followed and imitated. If the king, who, according to the Shariat is the deputy of the Imam, is not innocent, he must at least be protected (against sin) during his rulership, so that people may follow his words and actions. If he is not even protected, the minimum condition for the qualities needed for kingship is, that he should not be a slave of vice.[749] For, in reality kingship is the deputyship and vicegerency ~~regent~~ of God, and such a high office is not compatible with those perverse qualities, which are the (very) negation of this office.

[750](Unwordly) scholars have stated: "Truthful speech and virtuous behaviour are antagonistic to 'passions', and it is

extremely difficult for the lower self to act in defiance of passions". False speech and unrighteous behaviour imply increase in the traditions of Satan, and they are in consonance with 'passions'. They are extremely convenient for the lower self. But the dignity and magnanimity of kingship make the difficulties of truthful speech and righteous behaviour easy for the king, and renders the convenience of uttering lies and displaying unrighteous conduct difficult for him. F.234b

Because the king, who[751] (is) the leader and the chief of all the inhabitants of the country, so he must possess more of inner virtues than external qualities, which are his terror and dignity, and which are (the result) of his wealth and material goods, his pomp and his grandeur, and in which none, who is involved in vice can possibly be imagined to be his equal.

From the view-point of (royal) magnanimity is it not a heinous fraud, that the subjects should be better in moral qualities than the king, who is their ruler and chief, and that the king should be a captive of vice? And as magnanimity is a necessary quality of kingship, which, by its very nature, does not allow a king to be disgraced and dishonoured, because of vice, so if a king dedicates himself to ignoble deeds, it is to be seriously presumed, that his royal magnanimity has suffered grievously.

Alexander has said in his Testament: "What a king is he, who himself (neither)[752] utters lies himself, nor does he let anyone else utter a lie in his presence!" <u>For the king is</u>

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the (proof) of God, and the proof should not be false. He who allows such an exalted position to be disgraced by speaking lies, is not worthy of kingship. One great advantage of kingship, both for the king and the subjects is, that everything done before the king is done righteously, and through the fear of his prestige no falsehood is possible before him. But if F.235a the king himself speaks lies, this great advantage is turned into a danger both for him and his subjects. The object in mind is reversed.

It is well known to all the people of Ghaznin, that no one had the courage to speak lies before Mahmud. Mahmud himself spoke no lies and no one could speak lies in his presence. Even the poets could not resort to lies in their panegyrics of Mahmud, though lying is the essence of their art. Courtiers could not make use of their hyperbolic speeches in his appreciation, because otherwise they would not be allowed to remain in office.

The second mean quality, which does not go well with the high quality of kingship is changeableness. The meaning of the term 'Inqilab' is desisting from one's words or actions. According to religious scholars and wise men of to-day and yesterday, firmness (of character) is an indispensable condition of kingship and the garb of royalty, while changeableness is the very negation of firmness. The unity of opposites has been considered to be among impossibilities. And as firmness of character constitutes one of the necessary qualities of kingship, it is said an indecisive person is not worthy of the office of

'rulership'. If he establishes himself on the throne of the kingdom without any claim, his subjects will not repose any trust in his words and actions, and the same will be the case with the nobles and commons of the realm. Kingship is trust personified. If this trust vanishes, kingship becomes vain and futile. And kings have said: "The signs of kingship are manifested either through the king's words or his deeds. F.235b Every king who is not firm in his words and deeds - his words are not like inscriptions on stones and his steps as firm as a mountain, then the subjects will not attain to happiness and felicity through him, or he from them.

The Commander of the Faithful, Umar, sent one of the Companions of the Prophet as ambassador to the king of Egypt before Egypt was conquered. When the Companion called on the king of Egypt and greeted him, the king showed him respect, and offered him a seat before his throne. The Companion desired to hand over the letter of the Commander of the Faithful, but saw the king occupied in praising one of his allies and recounting his good deeds. After some time, however, the Companion heard the king narrating the blemishes and demerits of that very man. The Companion began to detest the king on account of this changeableness of opinion and kept the letter back. When the king asked him for the letter, the Companion replied, "I have forgotten the letter in Medina". The king laughed and sent him back. The Companion withdrew from his presence, mounted his camel, and took the road to Medina. When

after a few days he presented himself before the Commander of the Faithful, the latter demanded the (king's) reply from him. The Companion narrated the whole case and stated: "I observed indecisiveness in the king, and my heart began to detest him and his rulership. I did not regard him deserving of kingship or worthy of being given the letter of the Commander of the Faithful". The Commander of the Faithful remarked: "It is a great blemish in kings, that they should be of indecisive mind and go back on their words and actions in a moment. Changeableness is a defect that cannot be associated or made consistent with the sublime qualities of kingship". The Commander of the Faithful commended the Companion, showed him favours, and appointed him the governor of a big province. "The ambassadors of kings", he said, "ought to be as intelligent, clever, quick, sagacious and prudent as you are".

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The ancient rulers had (persisted) in their erroneous designs and faced their consequences, because of the fear of the (evil) of changeableness, so that their subjects might not call them indescisive, but ascribe firmness to them. The great men of the religion and the kingdom of Mustafa have said: "Persistence or firmness in error is itself an error, and to desist from what is wrong is sheer righteousness". Hence the king of perfect wisdom is one, who, in all his words and actions, is firm about what is good and right, and does not desist from it on any grounds whatsoever. But if he realises, that there is any fault or evil in his words or deeds, he ought

to abstain and desist from them immediately. He should prefer obedience to the faith than the traditions of insolent kings, so that he may not be held responsible or punished for defying the commandments of the faith. F.236b.

The <u>third</u> mean quality, which does not go well with the high quality of kingship is perfidy and deceit. 'Perfidy' and 'deceit' are allied in meaning. The basis of perfidy is Godlessness and pride, while the source of deceit is hypocrisy and falsehood. The commands of the king ought to be opposed to godlessness, pride, hypocrisy and lies. Kingship will never go with perfidy and deception, which are not only great defects, but are quick in their effects. Great kings in cases of necessity have resorted to perfidy, duplicity, ambushes and night-attacks in wars and battles with their enemies. But they have not put them in the category of 'victory and success', and have not boasted or prided themselves on them. They have considered the attainment of an object through vile means to be worse than a hundred failures.

It has been related in Kalimat-i Afridun:[755] O Kings of the Earth you should know, that kingship is the deputyship and vice-gerency of God. Awe, success, prestige, honour, greatness, pride, force, arrogance, ascendancy and supremacy are indispensable for the office of kings. Kingship is wholly and solely the manifestation of majesty, power, firmness, high status, dignity, grandeur, awe and perfection. With these qualities (the opposite qualities of) humility, poverty, dis-

tress, dishonour, perfidy, deception, hypocrisy, lying, ambushes, night-attacks, slander, falsehood, (trickery)[756], submission, cajolery and flattery cannot be combined. If the king casts on someone the eye of favour or bestows upon him a robe F.237a of honour, or commends him, or for any reasonwhat-so-ever displays towards him kindness and beneficence or opens (conversation)[757] with someone for some reason, such actions of the king imply, that the person concerned has been granted security of life, property and goods. If he has committed crimes in (a hundred[758] ways) and has been noted in the list of criminals for political or revenue offences, the moment the king turns kindly towards him, all these offences of his are forgiven. Such actions are among the subtleties of royal behaviour, and are found in that king in whose blood and sinews kingship has come through inheritance. If the king for any cause or reason shows favour to anyone, and after that arrests him, or puts chains on his feet, or has him poisoned secretly, or has him locked in a fort, then that king has not truly recognised the dignity of kingship. He is a usurper, and is scornful and incompetent and of whom no trace will survive on this earth.

And wise men have said: "A perfidious, deceitful, hypocrite, imposter, mischievous and fraudulent person is certainly not worthy of kingship".

The <u>fourth</u> mean quality which does not go well with the high quality of kingship, and is a great defect in a king, is wrathfulness. It ought to be borne in mind, that wrathfulness

(غضوبی) is one thing, and anger (غضب) is another. Anger manifested at the proper occasions is a good thing. Man is composed of (anger and ill-temper).[759] But when anger overcomes all other feelings in a man, the man becomes 'wrathful' or 'anger personified'[760], this is a vice. For anger is the middle and wrathfulness the extreme stage. Every human quality, F.237b which is in moderation, is considered to be among good characteristics. Thus one extreme limit of generosity is prodigality and (reckless expenditure)[761] and the other limit is parsimony and niggardliness. Generosity is the middle stage. Had there been no anger in man, he would not have rid himself of dangerous things, and no resentment would have been excited in him at the sight of forbidden things. Hence, if there (is no)[762] anger in the king, he cannot protect the Faith. How can he without (the element of) anger in him, through his royal dignity prohibit and condemn things unlawful; or protect the <u>Shariat</u>, and suppress its opponents and molestors: uproot the enemies of the Faith: reduce the rebellious and headstrong to helplessness and impotence; keep in suppression his adversaries as well as the sinful and the iniquitous from time to time........... because anger........ is an essential of religion.......... and because....... the prohibition of evil is connected with anger[763]...........

(The fear of) religion disappears from the heart and the eyes (of the wrathful man) because of his overpowering anger.

In the condition, when he is overcome by wrath and seeks to satisfy his anger, he forgets God, prophets, and the F.238a orders of the Shariat and the fear of the Day of Judgment. Until he has satisfied his anger and sought vengeance on the object of his wrath - be he in the right or in the wrong, he finds no peace within himself, and his wrath keeps surging in his heart from time to time. Even though he may consider it undesirable, his wrath raises its head, and demands satisfaction. It often happens, that through his very great anger, the wrathful man can attend to nothing else while trying to wreak his wrath. For example, he cannot ease his heart by laughing, eating and indulging in pleasure. If he does not have the power of satisfying his anger on the subject of his wrath, he falls ill or his mind gets deranged through excess of anger and disappointment, and by[764]........... and remains in sorrow, melancholy and anxiety. Kingship cannot remain firm with this (quality of overthrowing)[765] people. Wrathfulness does not go well with kingship, as kingship for the most part consists in showing compassion, mercy, benevolence and conciliation.

The fifth mean quality, that does not go well with the magnificent quality of kingship, and if associated with it causes trouble, and proves a (source)[766] of ill repute, is the promotion of the unjust, and the nurturing of the cruel. If the king favours and nurtures the unjust, and appoints tyrants to high offices and to posts near himself, he has (in reality) ordered his subjects to be treated unjustly, and having given a fatwa

confirmed tyranny and oppression on his part. Because the root cause of all ruthlessness is the promotion of the unjust, and through this establishes/itself in the world, and becomes widespread. If the king is not unjust, and there is no F.238b injustice found in his nature, he could never promote the unjust, and elevate them to high positions. The external sign of the king's justice, which is most evident and manifest, is that he should hold tyranny to be his enemy, that he should maintain even greater reproach for the tyrant than for tyranny itself, that he should always be engaged in overthrowing tyranny and the tyrants, and that he should have greater hatred for anyone who (displays) the quality of injustice than for fever. Because there is a contradiction between justice and injustice. And until the virtue of justice is there, the nurture and promotion of tyranny is an impossibility.

The promotion of justice is one of the necessary qualities of the just; and the promotion of justice is accomplished by the promotion of the just, the overthrow of injustice, and the suppression of the unjust. Whenever an unjust man is favoured, the promotion of injustice inevitably follows, and with the promotion of injustice, justice packs up its things and disappears from the earth. As through the king's protection of the unjust, injustice begins to dominate his country, and with injustice the state cannot remain a state, so it was laid down a long time before; "The state can

co-exist with unbelief, but it cannot co-exist with injustice.[768]" Consequently, the king's promotion of the unjust, which is a great defect in him, cannot be assimilated with (the virtues of) kingship. For this reason, scholars, hakims and wise men have declared with one voice and to the same effect: "There is no symptom more clear of the king's injustice than his promotion of the unjust".

Abdul Malik, son of Marwan showed favours to Hajjaj the accursed, and assigned to him the countries of 'Iraq, Hejaz and Yamen. Hajjaj Yusuf caused immense harm to the Family of Mustafa and its loyal well-wishers. He set fire to the Holy Kaaba and destroyed it with catapults (منجنیق), All the said cruelties, which testify unbelief, were attributed to Abdul Malik bin Marwan. It was due to their promotion of injustice and the nurture of the unjust, that the faces of all the Merwanids were blackened until the 'Day of Judgment'. F.239a

Concerning this Nasihat the account of the ambassador of Nausherwan, who had visited the Qaisar of Rum, is worthy of credence.

(Anecdote)[769] illustrating the above Nasihat.

It is related in the Tarikh-i Nausherwan, that Nausherwan had entered into a firm treaty, and (taken) a pledge from the reigning Qaisar for the protection of the frontiers of both Ajam and Rum. Nausherwan hearing, that the Qaisar had rescinded the treaty and plundered and devastated the frontiers of Ajam, summoned his troops from all directions and wished to march with

his army on Rum to seek vengeance from the Qaisar. He consulted Buzurchemehr about the important problem. Buzurchemehr replied: "The violation of (a treaty) is inauspicious, and soon the ill-luck for breaking the treaty will overtake the Qaisar. The territories of Ajam have not yet been consolidated to our heart's satisfaction. How will it be if the king on this occasion despatches an ambassador to the Qaisar and writes something to him in this connection? If after receiving the ambassador and getting the letter, the Qaisar returns the booty, he has seized and sets free the captives from our land, it will be the best thing, but if our object is not attained by the despatch of the ambassador and the sending of the letter, the king should advance with his troops and extract the breath of the Qaisar's kingdom."

770

Nausherwan was delighted with the counsel of Buzurchemehr, and he ordered him to sslect an ambassador for Rum, who was sweet in speech, sociable in temperament, excellent in character, cheerful in countenance, magnanimous, noble in nature, modest, sagacious, intelligent, learned, a man of discernment, courteous, refined, skilful, and one who was experienced about state-affairs. Buzurchemehr kissed the ground and took his leave. F.239b

At that time a courtier asked Nausherman: "Ambassadorship means the communication of the message of one ruler to another ruler. What need is there of the qualities, the king has specified for ambassadorship?"

Nausherwan laughed, and said to the courtier: "My service and your nearness to my court is forbidden to you. I see that you are a very stupid person. You do not know that the ambassadorship of kings is a very responsible task. Don't you know, that the Lord of the Earth and Sky bestows His Messengership on a person than whom there is no one more learned, wise and virtuous during that generation, so that he may through his perfection of character bring to the people from the Unseen world the Commands of God, whom the people cannot see; and may so imprint the orders of religion on the hearts of men, that by obeying them they may attain to salvation and high spiritual grades. If defective and vicious men are assigned the 'Apostleship's', (divine) wisdom in sending an apostle would be futile. Similarly, the ambassador of a king should be perfect in accomplishments, so that by sending him the object of the king may be attained. If the ambassador is perfect, he will F.240a be able to display whatever art or science the king, to whom he has been accredited, is inclined, and obtain a good standing before him, and then that king will 771 (listen) with willing ears, / whatever he says, and will send him back with his object accomplished. As to those, who carry and deliver letters, they are called <u>qasids</u> and <u>paiks</u>, and nothing more is expected from them than the bringing and delivery of letters.

In brief, Buzurchemehr presented before Nausherwan for ambassadorship a person, who was adorned with perfect qualities. The king summoned him to a confidential interview, instructed

him in all (essentials) and during the course of (his instructions) he said: "When you reach the Qaisar, do not display very great respect and also do not be arrogant. In all that you say before him, speak in such a way, that the door of friendship is opened, but the door of war, on the other hand, is also not altogether closed. Behave like a courtier in his assembly; if you see him inclined to anything in particular, do that before him. Win his heart, and make a room for yourself in his proximity, so that your words are accepted by him, and what you say is not turned down, and your visit does not prove futile. If he says anything slanderous about me, do not be red at it, but do not exhibit your pleasure either. If you (find)[772] anyone wielding influence over the Qaisar, and the Qaisar captivated by his words, create in him an affection for yourself through the marvels of your nature, offer him presents and gifts, and win him over by whatever means you find advisable, so that he may not be an obstacle in your path and may not prove as a block in the realisation of your object. When the Qaisar has accepted you as ambassador, get the captives and prisoners released, but do not insist on the return of the booty, for it would have fallen into the hands of the soldiers and been scattered in all directions. Kings cannot pay compensation, for paying compensation is irreconcilable with the dignity of kingship. Obtain a new treaty from him, and until your object is achieved, do not seek his permission for return. If you find the situation contrary

F.240b

and his mind incapable of being put right, inform me either through a message or a letter giving hints and suggestions in such a way as you can, which no one else can understand before your departure".

After the above instructions, which are a guide for kings in the despatch and instruction of ambassadors, Nausherwan ordered the ambassador to be provided with a robe of honour, gifts, expenses, and a present (for the Qaisar). He ordered the ambassador's mind to be set at ease about (the requirements of) his family. He was to be despatched to Rum at the soonest possible.

When the said ambassador reached Rum, he kissed the Qaisar's hands, and offered him the present and letter of Nausherwan. He served the Qaisar's court for some days and crawled into his favours through the art of courtiership. The Qaisar was captivated by his pleasant manner and charming disposition and conversation. At a suitable occasion the ambassador raised the question of the treaty, and requested that the prisoners be set free. The Qaisar complied with his request. He set free the prisoners but apologised for the booty. "The soldiers have distributed the booty among themselves", he explained, "Had it been there, there would have been no failure in its return." A treaty in the name of the Qaisar, but containing the subject-matter the ambassador desired, was drafted. The Qaisar confirmed it with F.241a his signature and handed it over to the ambassador. The

ambassador took the treaty and wrote a petition to Nausherwan in which he described the Qaisar's manly virtues, and thanked him immensely. He showed this petition to the Qaisar, and then put it in the hands of a messenger. He gave to the messenger a message in public; "Tell my family to prepare for the marriage of my sons, for (on) my returning I will proceed to Khorasan for their wedding".

On reaching Madain the messenger presented the petition of the ambassador to Nausherwan. Nausherwan read the petition, and ordered a Companion to take the messenger to a corner, and inquire if the ambassador had sent any other message through him. The messenger expressed: "He has given me no message for the king, but he has given me this message for his family: 'Make arrangements for the marriage of my sons, for (on) my return I will proceed to Khorasan for their wedding'. On hearing the message of the ambassador for his family, Nausherwan discovered its object and meaning. He ordered arrangements to be made for the marching of his army.

Within a few days the ambassador also returned from Rum to Madain. He brought the letter, souvenir and treaty of the Qaisar to the royal court, and had the honour of kissing Nausherwan's hands. Nausherwan gave a robe of honour and gifts to the ambassador, and directed him to rest for three days in his house, and appear in the court on the fourth F.241b day to relate how he had fared at the court of the Qaisar.

In accordance with this order the ambassador presented himself in the royal court (on the fourth day)[773] and kissed the ground. Nausherwan (summoned him in private)[774] and inquired: "Since the Qaisar complied with all your requests, what was the significance (behind the message for making 'preparations for the marriage of your sons)"[775]. The ambassador replied: "I served the court of the Qaisar for some time, and among (all his)[776] courtiers I obtained full access to him. I found such meanness in him, that no wise men will repose trust in the treaty of a man so mean. I do not know why in spite of his mean qualities, he has been kept on the royal throne, for vices like his are incompatible with the royal office." Nausherwan inquired: "What are these qualities on account of which it is impossible to govern, and which you have found in the Qaisar"? The ambassador replied: "The Qaisar is a liar, indecisive (in mind), wrathful and a patron of the unjust. In addition to this, he is perfidious and deceitful. These mean qualities can never be associated with the high quality of kingship. It would not be surprising if he has not been deposed from the throne by now, for I found the people of the country dissatisfied and detesting him."

Nausherwan on hearing such things from his ambassador, verified their truthfulness and applauded him. "It is as you say", he remarked, "The preceding Kisras, who were my ancestors,

have related in their Testament these mean qualities, that they can never be associated with the high quality of F.242a rulership. If they are associated together, realms are (turned upside-down) due to the effect of these qualities"[777]. Nausherwan appointed the ambassador as one of his courtiers, enrolled him among the helpers and supporters of his realm, and ordered for his inclusion among the counsellors of the state[778].

779
(Nasihat) No. XXIV. F.242a

The Sum of all Nasaih and the Sign of the King's Salvation and Spiritual Grades in the Next Life is the Supplication before God, which fills His Entire Bosom.

Sultan Mahmud has said: O sons of Mahmud and kings of Islam, you should know and understand, that the (divine object) behind the creation of Adam and of the sons of Adam has been His own worship. The most exalted God says: "We have not created jins and men except for worship".

Supplication before God, helplessness, poverty and humility, constitute the essential requisites of devotion. But kingship is contradictory and opposed to the characteristics of devotion. Terror, prestige, pride, high status, dominance and ascendancy, which are attributes suited to God alone, are also the essential characteristics of kingly office.

How can there be a greater difficulty for a mere human being than this, that he ought to lead a life sharing the attributes of the Lord of the eighteen thousand worlds, and set aside at one stretch all human qualities in the affairs of government? If in this situation, when the king has F.242b to adhere to divine attributes due to which he finds his heart full of extreme supplication and humility, which are the special attributes of man and of his devotion, and are

contradictory to the qualities of kingship, and side by side with the exercise of his contradictory qualities, he finds himself a humble supplicant before the divine throne, then are not such supplication and humility which non-rationalists describe as 'miracles', the signs of his salvation and spiritual grades in the world to come?

It is related in the <u>Tarikh-i-Umam-ul-Awwalin</u>[780], that Lord Shis and the king Kaimurs were twin sons of Prophet Adam, and that they were twin brothers. When they were born, the Almighty in His mature Wisdom sent an inspiration to Prophet Adam: "Out of your twin sons we have bestowed prophethood on Shis and rulership on Kaimurs. We have made prophethood and kingship hereditary on their descendants; so that Lord Shis and his sons may show the correct path to the whole mankind, and by following which they may be worthy of Heaven and escape the punishment of hell, while Kaimurs and his sons live with men with terror, majesty, justice and benevolence, and keep the world organised and in good order and because of them the conduct of the affairs of the world appertaining to the race of Adam may lead to the prosperity of the world, and keep it in good order. F.243a

It is on this ground that it is said: "<u>Religion and the State are twins</u>[781]"; that is, the leaders of religion and the masters of ~~the~~ government are really twin brothers. In brief, according to the (traditions and pattern)[782] of prophethood,

Lord Shis devoted himself after Prophet Adam to inviting men to the correct path and guiding them aright, while Kaimurs governed mankind in accordance with the tradition of kings, and through his terror, majesty, dominance and high status, he administered the affairs of government.

One day the two brothers happened to meet, and started talking. Kaimurs observed that due to the effects of his devotion, Shis had become quite Godly, and that all his time, both day and night, were passed in meditation and prayers. On the other hand he found himself drowned in the mire of worldliness for having embraced the attributes of God. He was absorbed in the luxuries and enjoyments of life and in giving commands to the world. He wept profusely, and said to his brother: "Almighty God created you with the kindly eye, and has drawn you closer to himself, whereas I have been created with the eye of wrath, hence I have fallen apart from God, and been drowned in the river of worldliness".[783] Lord Shis (consoled) his twin brother's heart and said: "Do not despair, for you also have been created with the kindly eye. It is due to your terror, prestige, dominance and dignity, that the world has become prosperous and its inhabitants have been organised and kept in good order. If the sons of Adam are not kept in order, how will the commandments of the Sharia that come to me through inspiration, be enforced? In a state of confusion and desolation of mankind

F.243b

and the distress and poverty of the people, it is not possible to invite men to the path of religion".

When Kaimurs heard these words from Lord Shis, his mind was at ease. He asked Lord Shis: "Is there any indication to be seen in me by which I may reckon myself among the saved and the blessed ones?" Lord Shis replied: "If your heart is repelled from worldly affairs, and is inclined towards God and the other world, and it comes to your mind,[784] that attaining to God and to high station in the next world is not compatible with success and triumph in worldly life, and your heart begins to pray humbly, and this supplication constantly fills your heart, then you may consider this humble supplication to be a sigh of your liberation and salvation".

Mahmud read the account of these two brothers at the beginning of his reign in the books of the ancients. In those days the greatest object of Mahmud was government, and although he desired vehemently that supplication and humility should fill the sanctuary of his breast through and through for at least a day and a night, yet he could not achieve it. If he felt this supplication in himself at the time of offering his prayers and reciting the Quran, no trace of it was left in his heart after he had finished (his prayers), and F.244a became absorbed in worldly affairs. His heart showed inclination towards the grandeur of kingship, the affairs

of his realm, and the means of procuring pleasure and enjoyment. A good many years of Mahmud's life passed in this way. Sometimes he would find supplication in the sanctuary of his breast, but for the greater part he did not find himself a supplicant.

After more than twenty years had passed in this way, suddenly the longing and remembrance of God overpowered Mahmud's heart. He saw that the world and all it contained, kingship and the pomp of kingship were obstacles in (the path of) the desire that was now overpowering him. Mahmud's heart became more and more supplicant and humble, because it was not possible for him to surrender to this desire that had suddenly overcome his heart, for this would have caused the downfall of his family, whereas devotion (to state affairs) had taken deep roots in the blood and sinews of Mahmud and his sons, helpers and supporters. But although he felt worldliness to be a strong obstacle, yet the desire in his heart for nearness to God and high stations in the future life did not decrease; rather it kept on increasing as time went on. Owing to these two opposing conditions, it was not possible for Mahmud either to withdraw his hands from worldly affairs, which were an obstacle to high spiritual grades in the other world, while the desire for the next world, which had over-powered his heart would not decrease, and supplication and humility had so overcome Mahmud, that he

did not feel them absent from his heart for a single moment. For this reason a stream of tears rolled down from Mahmud's eyes at the time of prayer. In every good and commendable F.244b act that he did, his object was not at all the preservation of his kingdom. He did it all in the hope of high spiritual grades in the next world. The enjoyments of kingship and the pleasures of life had become more bitter in Mahmud's mouth than poison. Because of this humility which had filled Mahmud's bosom, his hope in the Lord of the Worlds went on increasing.

Concerning this Nasihat, the account of Alexander's humble supplication is sufficient and clear.

785
(Anecdote) illustrating the above Nasihat.

786
Mahmud has read in the Tarikh-i- Sikandari, that when Alexander achieved huge conquests, a great tumult and turmoil swept the world. After facing and encountering great difficulties, he subdued the inhabited world, and found himself powerful and triumphant over the entire world. He realised that this world was not at all permanent, and that human judgment, design, courage, generosity, justice, equity, trickery and resourcefulness were all incompetent and ineffective for ensuring its permanence. His heart was repelled from the work of government and conquests; and application to state-affairs began to grieve and pain the

heart of Alexander. All of a sudden his heart began to long for nearness to God and high stations in the next world. The longing for the great God dominated his bosom, and he resolved to undertake the search for God as the foremost of his undertakings. He summoned his leading sages and religious scholars, and asked them: "What should I do F.245a in order to combine the perfections of this world with the perfections of the next?" They replied in accordance with the customary and traditional precepts, "There is a contradiction between the perfections of religious and worldly life, and the unity of opposites is inconceivable to human intelligence". Each of the sages and religious scholars, according to his religion and the capacity of his understanding, recommended virtuous conduct, good deeds and devotions as an atonement for employments which, from the viewpoint of righteousness, had been undertaken uselessly (by Alexander) in search for worldly things. They showed Alexander the path to do their penance for their past (splendour).[787] Alexander's heart was not satisfied with the sermon, advice, medicine and prescription of any of them, and the desire that had overpowered his heart kept on surging from time to time. The peace and stability (of his mind) disappeared and through this anxiety, sleep and food tasted bitter to him.

After some time the abbot of a monastery told Alexander: "In Yamen there are two old monks living in a monastery. It

is decades since they have taken to the life of monks. Having been engaged in meditation of God, they are divinely inspired. If the king consults them concerning the difficulty of his object, perhaps he might get a distinct answer from them".

Alexander went to Yamen with the object of meeting them. On reaching near their monastery, he alighted and went alone like a pilgrim to the two old men. He had the honour of meeting them, and sat in a respectful posture before them. But before Alexander could give an account of himself, they explained with (the help of) the light of revelation F.245b the longing, that had captured Alexander. Alexander was wonder-struck at the miraculous powers of their revelations. He kissed their knees and said: "Since my (condition)[788] has been made known to you through revelation, I will not relate it again. I request you to solve the difficulty I am faced with, i.e. what am I to do, in order that worldly and religious perfection may be combined in me?" The two monks inquired: "To what extent has the desire for God seized you?" Alexander replied: "The longing for God has so overpowered me that both attending to the work of government and participation in the pleasures and delights of life have became distasteful to me. Attending to the affairs of this life is for me both sad and wearisome, and whenever I see that this world is an obstacle in the path of the next world,

I become a helpless supplicant. Like beggars and poor men, I am always supplicating and helpless".[789] The (monks) said: "Be happy, O Alexander, that in spite of your kingship this condition has come over you, and that supplication has filled the whole of your bosom. We have read in revealed books, 'Humble supplication to God cannot be combined with kingship, but if through divine favour the longing for God overpowers the heart of a king, and supplication fills his bosom in such a way that it is not[790] (free) from this supplication for a single moment, then this is a sign of his promotion to high stations in the next world'". F.246a

Alexander's heart was satisfied with this answer of the two monks. He returned from there praising and thanking (God), and[791] thereafter he felt this supplication even more in his heart.

(Author's Epilogue)[792]

Having hope (in divine mercy) I end this book, which I (have named)[793] the Fatawa-i Jahandari, in a (state of) utter supplication. I pray to the Protector of the eighteen thousand worlds, that He may take hold of my helpless hands, and pull me out of the whirlpool of my sins, so that through His universal mercy I may reach the shore of salvation. And just as through His universal kindness, He has filled my bosom, which is a house of sorrow, with humble supplication, humility and helplessness, so may my end, and the end of all

Mussalmans, be on this word: "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammad is the Prophet of Allah".

With all respects to the holy 'Oath of Affirmation' I am extremely perplexed, broken, helpless and needy.

In spite of my poverty, this is my appeal to the masters of knowledge and wisdom concerning religion and the state. Past writers and authors have compiled many books on the Science and Laws of Government. They have done justice to (the traditions of) learning and eloquence; they have displayed marvels in composition and literary contrivances, and have adorned their works with metaphors in prose and verse. But they have confused the Laws of government, which depend upon the words and deeds of kings, wazirs, maliks and amirs, and are the essence of sovereignty, with the orders of other groups.

And wise men will come to know that they cannot find F.246b among books any work with the order, form and plan according to which the Fatawa-i-Jahandari has been composed. I have brought in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari, from beginning to end, all the Laws of government and temporal rule with reference both to principles as well as illustrations and examples.[794]

[795] Such a Khusrau does not exist in every city,
And if he does he will not be so sweet.

What great pains I have taken in the composition of this book, and how I have reflected in a number of ways!

I had to twist my body and soul into ropes
Before I could come to the edge of Life.

God be praised! Wazirs, maliks, the lords of discernment and policy and efficient counsellors of the state as well as of hereditary kingdoms - those of the present generation, and those who will come in future one after another from the Unseen World until the 'Day of Judgment' will not withhold their just appreciation and praise, when they honour the Fatawa-i-Jahandari by studying it, and understand what I have said in the form of open allusions and through hidden[796] insinuations[797] with regard to principles, illustrations and examples.

I appeal to all my readers as a beggar for the recitation of their sincere prayers to God both during his life-time and after his death, for the forgiveness of the sins of the author. They (should)[798] help me with the sincerity that is expected from the greatness of the great. "Help me, people of God; may God help you also"! I am quite (helpless)[799] and impotent, (ruined)[800] and sinful.

What should I say about my condition before
the people?
I am a sinner, I am a sinner, I am a sinner,
I have no refuge except in the forgiveness of God, F.247a
I have no asylum except in the veil (of God),
the Veiler of Sins.

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End of the Book Fatawa-i-Jahandari

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It is reported from Kaimurs, who was the first king among the kings of the earth, and I have also read it in his Wasaya (Testament): "O, sons of Kaimurs, who will be kings of the world, you are to know that (by the grace of) the Almighty, my father, Prophet Adam, had many sons from the womb of my mother, Eve. For the sake of making the world prosperous, (God) inspired everyone of my brothers with one of the professions, (skilled) arts and crafts, without which mankind cannot live. (We two brothers, I and Lord Shis)[802], were born twins. God sent an inspiration to my father, Adam: "Among so many sons of yours, We have elevated these two brothers, who are born twins. I have made Kaimurs and his descendants kings over all your descendants; and Shis and his descendants prophets for all your descendants; Kaimurs and his descendants will be kings through terror and dignity, and they will keep the world organised and consolidated. By justice and kindness, equity and generosity, they will make the world inhabited and prosperous. Shis and his descendants will bring the commands of heaven to your descendants; they will invite you to religion and make you worthy of salvation

and of high F.247b

stations in the Invisible World. Through Kaimurs, the worldly affairs of your sons will be put right and kept right; through Lord Shis the affairs of the next world will be put right for your sons, and they will become worthy of salvation and high spiritual grades".

It is for this that it has been said: 'Religion and the state are twins!' That is, the leaders of religion and the masters of temporal government are twin brothers. Without kings the world cannot be put right or kept right. Thus there ought to be both prophets and kings in the world, so that the affairs of the sons of Adam may be conducted according to divine pleasure in both the worlds. If there be a king and no prophet, then the affairs of this world may be set right, but no men will be saved in the other world. If there (be)[803] a prophet but no king, then without the terror and awe of kingship (the world)[804] will not be put right; no command of religion will be obeyed and all affairs will fall into confusion and disorder. The Almighty has adorned prophets and kings with innate merits and virtues. These two high qualities, i.e. prophethood and kingship, cannot associate with mean behaviour and wicked characteristics.

But it does not mean more than this. God, exalted be His name, has so created prophets, that they may do justice to the duties of service to God by their innate nature. He has created them innocent of minor and major sins, so that

they may bring other men to God and make them saints and near ones. They hear the word of God and bring it to men. They lead men to those rules which are pleasing to God. F.248a They show the correct path and keep men away from the path of error. Everyone among the fortunate ones, who hears their words and follows them, draws nearer to God and is worthy of the bounties of Paradise. But everyone who holds their words in contempt, denies their prophethood, and does not obey the commands they bring from God, is worthy of Hell, and he remains far from God.

And kings remain far from God because they cannot fulfil the duties imposed by God; are unable to perform the obligations of service to God, and are involved in sin and iniquity owing to their absorption in this world. So finally the honour and dignity of kingship, that was entrusted to them, is transferred to another. The nut-shell of the policy of kingship, is care about the said affairs. But when the king is rightly guided and follows the Sunnah of God, his dignity and skill[805]..

....

NOTES:-

1. The term Fatwa is defined as " a formal legal opinion given by a mufti or canon lawyer of standing in answer to a question submitted to him either by a judge or by a private individual ". Ency of Islam, vol 11 (E-K) Luzac 1927. Also see Steingass, Per Eng Dic, Lon 1947. p.907. Barni has used this term in the F.J. as equivalent to Nasaih. See F.J.F 1.a.

2. Reading sipas wa (سپاس و).

3. Ms damaged. Reading wa padshahan-i-sarwar (و پادشاهان سرور).

4. " " . Reading piya pai murid daulat-i-OO (پیاپی مرید دولت او).

5. " " . Reading mamur (معمور).

6. " " . Reading kainat (کائنات).

7. The context seems to require the insertion of wasallam (وسلم).

8. Ms damaged. Reading Imamat (امامت).

9. Several pages seem to be missing in the Ms. The last sentence on this folio is left incomplete and the first sentence of folio 2a does not appear to be a part of this sentence. The discussion on this folio appears from its content to be the remaining portion of the first Nasihat. Hence it is not only that the major part of Barni's Introduction is missing but some folios of the first Nasihat are also wanting. The loss of the substantial portion of the Introduction is extremely felt, because in these folios the author must have given reasons for giving a curious form to this work. Writing a prolegomena or an introduction to his book was more or less a moral obligation on the part of a medieval Muslim writer. Public opinion demanded that all books should begin with the praises of the Creator, blessings on His apostle, homage to the four Orthodox Caliphs and the writer could in his discretion express his faith in his spiritual guide; acknowledge his loyalty to the reigning sovereign and give expression to the munificence of his patron, if he had any. He was also expected to explain and express the purpose behind the compilation of the work and give a list of its contents - fasls, nasihats, tabaqats and babs, whatever they might be. Since a considerable portion of Barni's Introduction is missing we are deprived of such important information.

10. As indicated above the first few folios of this Nasihat are missing. In order to arrange the Nasihats numerically, this Nasihat has been numbered as 1. F.J. F 2a.

11. Ms damaged. The context seems to require the insertion of darad (دارد).

12. Ms damaged. Reading khwanda bashad (خوانده باشد).

13. Quran, Lviii:28. The relevent verses are as follows:- " Seest thou not that God doth know all that is in the heavens or on the earth. There is not a secret consultation between three, but He maketh the fourth among them....................and they hold secret counsels among themselves for inequity, hostility and disobedience to the Prophet...........Secret counsels are only inspired by the Evil One in order that he may cause grief to the Believers but he cannot harm them in the least except as God permits".

14. Ms damaged. The context appears to require the insertion of wa hiras (وهراس).

15. Ms damaged. The context appears to require the insertion of andazad (اندازد).

16. This was the accepted theory of Barni's times. Sheikh Ali Hajweri says in his Kashaf-ul-Mahjub: " Saints are not protected from sin, for sinlessness belongs to the prophets, but they are protected from any evil that involves the denial of their saintship". Vide Nicholson Eng Trans, p 225.

17. Reading binand (بینند).

18. Ms damaged. Reading matlub (مطلوب). A lacuna follows.

19. " " . " shar (شر). A lacuna follows.

20. " " . " ke oo az (که او از).

21. " " . " khalaf (خلف).

22. " " . " khud ra (خود را).

23. " " . " tarb wa trrah (ترب و ترّه).

24. " " . " wa shubah (و شبه).

25. " " . " aasmani (آسمانی).

26. Original illegible.

27. A lacuna . The context seems to require the insertion of hikayat (حکایت), which Barni always uses for illustrating his Nasihat. See F.J. F 74.

28. If this is the name of a particular work on the Samanids, it does not

appear to be extant.

29. Amir Ismail Samani is considered to be the first sovereign prince of the Samanid dynasty. For details see Tab Nas. Raverty pp 31-32. Zain-ul-Akhbar pp 19-63, edi Nazim. Barthold, p 209, and Sykes, Hist of Persia. vol 11. pp 19-21.

30. Barni calls Yaqub Lais and Umru Lais sons of carpenters (ruigar) but other historians like Minhaj us-Siraj call them braziers (Saffarids). Vide Tab Nas, Raverty pp 19-25. See Barthold, p 216, where their origin is discussed in sufficient detail. Zain-ul-Akhbar, however, supports Barni. pp 10-19.

31. This event is not supported by Gardizi, the author of the Zain-ul-Akhbar, who holds that Yaqub Lais was defeated by the Caliph's army; he suffered heavy losses and died of illness. p 14.

32. Ms damaged. Reading khud ra (خودرا).

33. This distinction between a king, who obtains the throne by force (taghallub) and the other, who succeeds to it by legitimate right (istihqaq) will be observed in the F.J. throughout.

34. Ms damaged. Reading farman (فرمان).

35. " " . " oo ra az (اورا از).

36. Reading sipah (سپاه).

37. The term namaz-i-digar and namaz-i-pishin were equivalent terms for Asr and Zuhr prayers in Barni's times. They have been used by Barni elsewhere in the F.J.

38. The term muqqarrab literally means a near one - kindred, relation, courtier, favourite, cherubium and so forth. Vide Steingass p 1292.

39. Barni is a great believer in heredity. According to him only those Mussalmans, who are Mussalmans by birth, are capable of possessing true religious belief. Hence Amir Ismail Samani refused to take possession of Umru's unlawful wealth.

40. Sharia - the holy Muslim law. For a detailed explanation see Hughes, Dic of Isl p 572. Barni in all his four existing works constantly uses Mustafa (Elect) for Mohammad.

41. This anecdote of Barni is not supported by more reliable histories

written with greater care like the well-known Rauzat-us-Safa of Mirkhond, which is a voluminous history dealing with events from the beginning of the creation to the death of Sultan Abu Said (A.D. 1469). Some extracts from his account of the Saffarid dynasty will enable us to conclude how very scanty was Barni's knowledge of the originals and how he falsified historical events in order to suit his purpose. Barni's anecdote is related to show how people of humble origin usurp thrones and dare to revolt against the Muslim Caliphs - vicegerents of God. But ultimately such persons are condemned and destroyed by God. They are subdued by the righteous and despatched to hell. Even after their death their bad repute lasts for ages. Barni in this anecdote portrays Umru Lais as composed of nothing but evil, perfidy, mischief and treachery. He refrains from giving expression to the duplicity of the Caliph. About Yaqub's efficiency the Rauzat-us-Safa says:- ' Yaqub bin Lais had remarkable political intelligence. If a man approached him for service and appeared to be worthy in his eyes, Yaqub would ask him whether he knew the use of arms, or could shoot his arrow or was good at the use of sword............. no body knew the secrets of Yaqub, and he consulted no one about his affairs of state.......... one day an ambassador said to him: ' You claim leadership; yet in your tent there is nothing besides the carpet on which you are sitting and the arms you are wearing '. Yaqub replied: ' Yes because the servants live in the same manner as their masters''. Mirkhond gives a note on the career of Umru Lais and describes at some length the battle, which took place between him and Amir Ismail Samani. A comparison of his statements with Barni's anecdote will reveal that Barni's story is onesided. See R.S. On Saffarids, ff 3b-6a. Ms I.O. 1508. Also see Barthold, pp 225-6, where the position of the Saffarids in medieval Muslim history is critically discussed. Also see Tab Nas, Raverty, pp 23-25.

<u>NASIHAT NO 11.</u>

42. A lacuna. The context seems to require the insertion of Nasihat (نصیحت). No number is given to this Nasihat in the text but on F.32b a Nasihat begins and the number given to it is lV. If this number is accepted as correct, the present Nasihat needs to be numbered 11. In view of this number I have arranged the secceeding Nasihats.

43. The designation farzandan-i-Mahmud is used by Barni throughout the text to indicate all Muslim kings regardless of their origin. They may have ascended to the throne by hereditary right or obtained it by force and usurpation, they were entitled to the ' spiritual sonship ' of Mahmud of Ghaznin, because (a) they exercised actual governmental authority and (b) because (as Barni thought), it was their duty to carry out the policy, Barni has attributed to Mahmud. The doctrine of ' spiritual sonship ' is mystic in origin. No real descendants of Sultan Mahmud, if seen in the light of history, were left alive by Shahab ud-din Ghori. Tab Nas tells us

that all the descendents of Sultan Mahmud were captured by this Ghorid prince and sent his brother Ghiyas ud-din, who imprisonened them in a fort. But when his struggle with Ala ud-din Khwarazm Shah started, Ghiyas ud-din ordered them to be put to death. T.N., Raverty, pp 117-118.

44. The medieval Muslim mystics generally believed that God maintained the world through His Saints. This doctrine was probably propounded by Abu Abdullah Mohammad Trimzi, who also was responsible for their classification, which is explained by the K.M. as follows:- " Of those who have the power to loose and bind are the officers of the Divine Court, there are 300 called Akhyars, 40 called Abdals, 7 called Abrars, 4 called Autads, 3 called Nuqabas and one called Ghaus or Qutb. All of them know one another and cannot act save by mutualconsent ". See Nic, Trans, p 214.

45. Reading quwwat (قوت).

46. It must be pointed out that Barni in the F.J. is not referring to the protection and propagation of the Hanafi sect of Islam, but to Sunni Islam as a whole. The term 'hanif' appears repeatedly in the Quran as the name of those, who possess the real and true religion e.g. Sura lx:105, xxll:31, xxx:30 etc. See Shorter Enc of Isl, p 132.

47. The doctrine of Zimmiship is derived from the Quranic verse:- " Fight those, who believe not in Allah, nor in the latter Day, nor do they prohibit, what Allah and His Apostle have forbidden, nor follow the religion of Truth out of those, who have been given scriptures, until they pay the jizya by hand in order to be humiliated ". The status of zimmis i.e. protected people was awarded by Muslim Caliphs and rulers to all non-Muslims in return for the poll-tax and provided them with the security of their life and property. According to Quran 29:29 only the people of scriptures i.e. the Jews and the Christians could be recognised as Zimmis but this injunction was expanded with the need of the hour and all non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim ruler were extended this status. Vide Tritton, The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects, p. 5. For further details see Hamilton's Hidaya, vol ll, p. 178 as cited by Hughes, pp. 710-13. Also see Aghnides ' Mohammedan Theories of Finance ' chap Vll, p. 398. For the position of Zimmis in early Medieval Muslim India see Habibullah, chap lV, p. 295. Qureishi, pp. 96-98.

48. A lacuna. Here Barni is obviously thinking of Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji in spite of his bitter aversion for the latter. Among all the Muslim rulers of India, who ruled before and during Barni's times, Ala ud-din was the only king who is reported by Barni in his T.F.S. as totally indifferent towards religious observances - prayers and fasting. He never went to the Juma mosque for his Friday prayers. Nevertheless under him the Delhi Sultanate (as Barni is however forced to admit in his T.F.S.) attained to its greatest power and prestige. Though Ala ud-din was no communalist, religious scholars flourished during his reign and Mussalmans were more

given to their devotions during his reign than at any other time. If Sheikh Nasir ud-din Chiragh is to be believed, Ala ud-din had a firm faith in God. For a discussion see Prof Habib art Isl Cul vol xx, No 2, p 130 as cit by Nizami art The Chishtiya Mystics and their attitude towards the State, Isl Cul, 1949-50 sereies. For Barni's study of Ala ud-din see T.F.S. pp 338-67.

49. ' The Order of Good and the Prohibition of the Evil ' occurs in the F.J. throughout. It is derived from the Quranic sources - ' And they (the Mussalmans) order what is good and forbid what is evil '. vii:157.

50. Barni uses the phrase - seventy -two sects or creeds in a twofold sense- - seventy-two sects in Islam and seventy-two religions at large. For details see Hughes, Dic of Isl, p. 567.

51. A Muhtasib is the public censor of religion and morals, who is appointed by a Muslim ruler, to punish Muslims for neglecting the rites of their religion. Vide Hughes, p. 418. Prof Grunebaum says: ' The Muhtasib hears and decides cases of short measure and weight, sales, fraud and withholding the debits that have fallen due........' vide Med Isl, pp. 165-6. For the functions of Muhtasibs in the Delhi Sultanate see Habibullah, pp. 256-7 and Qureishi, pp 164-72.

52. Amir dads and dad-beks were persons invested with the duty of dispensing justice in the kingdom. The Sultan was the supreme judge in the land but his judicial department consisted of Qazis and other officers like the amir dads and dad-beks. Prof Grunebaum summarises the reasons which accounted for the curtailment of the powers of the judicial officers. Med Isl, pp 163-4. Qureishi says about the importance of the amir-i-dad: 'The amir-i-dad at the capital was an important officer and was strong enough to take part in high politics....... In the absence of the Sultan, the amir-i-dad presided over the court of mazalim; in the monarch's presence he was responsible for its executive and administrative business.' pp 161-162. Habibullah says: 'Among judicial officers in a large city like Delhi, besides a number of qazis......... we also hear of the amir-i-dad later known as dadbak. He, it seems, was the chief city magistrate, for his designation suggests his association with the detection and redress of crimes.....' pp. 254-5

53. Fisq wa fujur is used by Barni to denote dirty offences like drinking, gambling, practice of sodomy, adultery and the like. In his T.F.S.,he gives a clear picture of the open practice of these immoralities in the capital - Delhi. Vide T.F.S. p 298.

54. A clerical error. Reading ba mal (بمال) for jamal (جمال).

55. Here again Barni is giving a picture of social vices prevalent in Delhi during his times. Sultan Ala ud-din was the only monarch in Medieval Muslim India, who ruthlessly prohibited the sale and consumption of liquor in Delhi. Vide T.F.S. pp 284-6. Barni refers to the letter of Maulana Sheikh

Shams ud-din Turk, who wrote to Sultan Ala ud-din: ' I have heard that the king has prohibited all intoxicants. How, O king, have you been able to achieve this '? T.F.S. p. 298.

56. Here Barni is admonishing his ideal rulers to deal very strictly with Mussalmans, if they indulge in sin and iniquity. The Mussalmans were the governing class in the Delhi Sultanate, hence Barni feels the necessity that they must possess better morals than the subject communities, for whom he does not prescribe severe punishments for the comission of such sins.

57. In spite of the form Barni has given to his F.J., city here is a clear reminiscence of Delhi. In the parlance of Barni's days, the term <u>shahr</u> or <u>hazrat</u> or <u>dar-us-Saltanat</u> always stood for Delhi. No remarks made by Barni here and elsewhere in the F.J., will be applicable to Mahmud's Ghaznin, where wine flowed freely and where the Sultan himself drank as Barni is forced to admit in the F.J.

58. Reading ifza for ifzah (افضاء for افضاح). See Steingass, p. 84.

59. Bid'at is defined by Hughes as a novelty or innovation in religion; heresy; schism. Vide Dic of Isl, p. 42. They are divided into two kinds - bid'at-i-hasnah or good bid'ats like the use of paper for writing and the bid'at-i-siyah or bad bid'at, which cannot be justified as being proper developments of the Sunnah.

60. A geographical division of a city, town or village.

61. Islam imposes five compulsory duties on a Believer - belief in the Unity of God, five obligatory prayers, poor-rate, fasting during Ramazan, and haj to Mecca. For further details see Mohammad Ali, Holy Quran, pp 8, xvl-xxvlll.

62. Reading bidihad (بدیہ).

63. Ms requires the insertion of this verb.

64. The context appears to require the insertion of aala (اعلی).

65. A lacuna.

66. Barni throughout the work with certain rare exceptions speaks of Sultan Mahmud as alive and relates the information about him without quoting any source from where he has received this information. This is apt to incline his readers to think that the author of the F.J., possessed first hand knowledge about Mahmud.

67. Jihad is a religious war withthose who are unbelievers in the mission of Mohammad. It ia an incumbent religious duty, established in the Quran and in the Hadis as a divine institution, and enjoined specially for the purpose of advancing Islam and of repelling evil from Muslims. Hughes,

Dic of Islam, p. 243. How far Sultan Mahmud's wars were worthy of being called wars fought in the path of the Lord, see Baihaqi, pp. 636-38, where the author quotes the anecdote of the Qazi of Bust, who refused to accept the gift of Sultan Masud, because the wealth obtained by Mahmud in his campaigns was not lawful? Cit Prof Habib, Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, pp. 6-9. Also see Barthold, pp. 287-89. For further details on the Muslim theory of Jihad see Guillaume, The Traditions of Islam, p. 111.

68. Here again Barni is attributing to Sultan Mahmud a policy, which history fails to support. For details see Habib, pp. 81-87. According to this historian Mahmud's wars were secular exploits waged for the greed of glory and gold. He refuses to give them the designation of holy wars. p. 81.

69. A lacuna. The words within brackets are my additions.

70. Reading bi-chandin (بچندین).

71. According to Hughes it is a term used by the Sufisfor the religious life. p. 628. Thus the term ahli-i-tariqat refers to the Muslim mystics and the science of Muslim mysticism is also known as the Science of Tariqat.

72. ~~A repetition in the Ms~~ Reading riwaj dihad (رواج دهد) in this sentence.

73. A repetition in the Ms.

74. Here Barni causes the impression that the F.J., was composed during the twelvth year after Abu Ali Sina's flight from Sultan Mahmud. About Abu Ali Sina's place among Muslim scholars, Prof Browne says: ' Of the scientific writers of that time (the Ghaznavide period) none were greater than Avicenna, the physician-philosopher who, himself the disciple of Aristotle and Galen, was during the Middle Ages the teacher of Europe... ...'Prof Browne also mentions Abu Ali Sina's flight from Mahmud. Vide Lit His of Per, vol 11, pp. 96, 106-110. In this paragraph Barni is exhibiting bitter aversion towards rational learning - the Greek philosophy. A very good account of the Mutazilites is found in Kitab-ul-Milal wan-Nahl of Shihrastani; this illuminating passage has been translated by Amir Ali in his Spirit of Islam, pp. 613, 629.

75. I have not been able to identify this group or caste or tribe. No reference to it is found in the Ghaznavide historians.

76. A lacuna. A dahriya is one, who believes in the eternity of matter, and asserts that the duration of this world is from eternity, and denies the Day of Ressurection and Judgment. Vide Hughes, Dic of Isl, p. 64.

77. Barni's most important advice to his Sultans is the suppression of all non-Sunni Muslims and all non-Muslims. These two unfulfilled desires,

which Sultan Mahmud according to Barni took with himself appear to be Barni's own creation. See Z.A., p.92. Alberuni states that Mahmud had utterly ruined the prosperity of India and this had resulted in the bitter antagonism of the Hindus to all foreigners. Vide Sachau Eng Trans. vol 1, p 10. Barthold very correctly remarks: ' The persecution of heretics by Mahmud is also explained by political motives; sometimes the accusation of heresy was but the pretext for seizing the property of the suspected person'. Vide Turkestan, p. 291.

78. Tafsir is the Science of commentary on the Quran, Hughes, p. 624. Also see p. 522. Hadis, says Hughes ' are the records of what Muhammad did, what Muhammad enjoined , and that which was done in the presence of Muhammad and which he did not forbid. They also include the authoritative sayings and doings of the Companions of the Prophet '. p. 639. A genuine tradition is one which has been handed down by truly pious persons, who have been distinguished for their integrity. Vide Hughes, p. 640. The hadis forms an important source of Mohammedan law. Fiqh is the Science of Muslim jurisprudence. The four schools of Sunni jurisprudence are the Hanafis, the Malikis, the Shafiis and the Hanbalites. For further details see Aghnides, chapters 1,11,111,1V and V. Also Hughes, pp 286-292. Suluk is the term, which Barni is using here for Sufism. For the details of Sufism see Hughes, pp. 608-622.

79. Barni seems to be committing historical errors here. Yamen and the Persian gulf area in the time of Mahmud were under the influence of the Ismailis, whom Barni and other Muslim writers call Mulahidas, and these areas were not the centres of orthodoxy as Barni implies. Similarly Egypt and the adjoining lands were in the hands of the Fatimid Anti-Caliphs. About the origin of Ismailis, Bernard Lewis says: ' During the cultural period of Medieval Islamic history the lands of the Caliphate were convulsed by a movement at once religious, philosophic, social and political, which for a time, threatened the very existence of Islamic civilisation, and which at its heights succeeded in establishing a schismatic anti-Caliphate. Vide, ' The Origin of Ismailism ', Camb, 1940. Also Ameer Ali, Spirit of Islam, p. 427. For the Fatimid dynasty, see Hughes, pp. 125-27.

80. A clerical error in the Ms. Reading falsafyan for khalifan (فلسفیان for خلیفان).

81. Dar-ul-Islam, vide note in Hughes, Dic of Islam, p 70.

82. A lacuna.

83. Reading birahima for rahima (براہیم for راہیم).

84. Al Imam Abu Allah Muhammad. B. Idris, the founder of the Shafii school of law, is described by the Enc of Isl as an electic , who acted as

an intermediary between the independent legal investigation and the traditionalism of his time. He is regarded as the founder of the Usul-ul-Fiqh. Vol lV, part 1, pp. 252-54. Tritton in his ' Islam ' says: ' Shafii (820 A.D.) founded another school of Muslim law which in theory was the mean between the Hanafi and the Maliki. He recognised part to be played by commonsense and described his procedure as analogy (Qiyas) '. p. 60.

85. Ahl-i-Kitab or ' the People of the Book ' is a term used inthe Quran for the Jews and the Christians, as believers in a revealed religion. Vide Hughes, Dic of Isl, p. 12. The Quran and the Hadis recognises four Revealed books - Taurat, Zabur and Injil. Hence Hindus according to this view do not possess a Scripture.

86. Reading nigrist for niguzist (نگرلیست for نگزلیست).

87. Again Barni is changing a wishful thinking into a historical fact; the last years of Mahmud's life were darkened by the Seljuk menace and after ten years of his death the Seljuk Turkomans overthrew the Ghaznavide empire. For details see Habib, Mah of Ghaznin, pp. 59, 99-103. Nazim, Mahmud of Ghazna, p. 125.

88. Abu Said Abdul Malik b. Quraihal Asmai (b. 740 and died at Basra 828 A.D.) was one of the most prominent philalogists. The following books are attributed to him - Kitab-ul-Faras, Kitab-ul-Aradjiz, Kitab-ul-Maisir and so forth. Vide Enc of Isl, Vol 1,1, pp. 490-1. Ibn-i-Khallikan also gives a biographical sketch of his life. See De Slane, Vol 11, pp. 123-127. Huart also refers to him, vide His of Ara Lit, pp 142-143.

89. Harun ur-Rashid is regarded by Muslim historians as the most famous of the Abbasid Caliphs. For his golden reign see Muir, Caliphate, chap Lxlv.

90. A distance of twelve thousand cubits. Vide Steingass, p. 918.

91. Barni distinguishes between the Ulama-i-dunya and the Ulama-i-Akhirat. Mystics have been placed in the second category, whereas the Qazis are put in the first. He advises respect for both, but the Ulama-i-Akhirat are more reliable, for they are not carried away by wordly motives. For a general definition of the Ulamas - the theologians or doctors of Islam, see Hughes, Dic of Isl, p. 650.

92. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of shaukat wa hashmat (شوکت و حشمت).

93. A miracle is defined as a variation from the customary. For Karamat, see Margoliath, Mohammedanism, p. 143. In a passage of his Tafsir-ul-Kabir (quoted by Maulana Jami in his Nafahat-ul-Uns), Imam Fakhr ud-din Razi divides miracles into four - Mujiza, the miracles of the Prophets, Karamat, the miracles of Saints, Istidraj, the miracles of sinners e.g. the magicians,

who confronted Moses and Aun, miracles perdormed by persons accidentally, who have no pretensions of this sort. Luck Edition. For further details on Istidraj see Hughes, p. 221.
94. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of dar dil (دردل).

95. Reference to the Quranic verse iii:53. Also see Mohammad Ali, Holy Quran, pp. 158-9.

96. A lacuna.

97. A lacuna. The words within brackets are my additions.

98. Reading bisharat. Vide Steingass, p. 188.

99. Reading midihi (میدهی).

100. Reading ijhar for ijhad (اجهار for اجهاد).

101. Reading Masib. (مسیب).

102. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of riha (رها).

103. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of amiran (آمیران).

104. For a career of Caliph Umar Khattab, the second Orthodox Caliph, see Rauzat-us-Safa, Rehatsek vol 111, part 11. p. 54. Muir, Caliphate, chap xll. p. 82.

105. Reading mahsur for mahzur (محصور for محضور).

106. How far Barni's version of Harun Rashid's interview with Fuzail Ayaz is supported by other works, see Part 11 of my Introduction, where its authenticity has been discussed.

NASIHAT NO 111.

107. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of Nasihat (نصیحت).

108. Reference is to the famous Quranic verse 42:38.

109. The well-known wazir of Nausherwan the Just.

110. If it is aname of a certain work, it does not appear to be extant.

111. The R.S. gives a note on Shis, Vol 1, Part 1, Rehatsek, pp. 65-66.

112. He is considered to be the first king of mankind. He is of Persian origin. Modern research puts Kaimurs or Gayumarth as the first king of the legendary Peshdadi dynasty. He is the first man of the Avesta. Vide Browne, Lit Hist vol 1, p. 112.

113. A wao (و) is superfluous here.

114. The Quran refers to men of wisdom as hakims. Vide chap on Luqman xxxi. Barni is not using the term hakim for philosophers bu t for men, who are well-versed in theological knowledge and learning. Thus, when he refers to Plato, he does not regard him as the famous Greek philosopher, but instead addresses as the God-fearing Plato (افلاطون ربانی).

115. Iblis is another name for Satan, who refused to obey God's order of prostrating before Adam. See Rauzat-us-Safa, Eng Tra, p.42, vol 1, part 1.

116. The reference is to the famous wazir of Prophet Solomon, who is proverbial in Muslim literatu re for his wise counsel.

117. This term is used in Hadis and works on Muslim theology to denote the tablet on which the decrees of God are recorded with reference to mankind. Vide Hughes, Dic of Isl, p. 285. The Quran refers to it in chap lxxxv:22, where it says: ' It is a glorious Qu ran in a guarded tablet. ' See Mohd Ali, Quran, p. 1178.

118. Reading banoor for banoo (بنور for بنو).

119. One is apt to think that the Macedonian Alexander, who conquered and devastated Persia, will get scant justice from Persian writers. But surprisingly enough this is not the case. The Persians had no living memory of Alexander left in their country and the story of Alexander reached them from Syrian sources. So the war between him and Darius could be represented as a war of succession between cousins and the conquest of Alexander could be related without any insult to Persian self-respect. See Browne, Lit Hist, vol 1, pp. 118-9. For a note on his life see Rauzat-us-Safa, Eng Trans, vol 11, part 1, p. 240.

120. In Medieval Muslim history Alexander's tutor Aristotle has been portrayed as a pious sage and not as the well-known Greek philosopher. The Muslims historians and writers on Politics generally quote the dialogues of Aristoltle and Alexander in order to stress the importance of their statements. Barni in the F.J., has also drawn quite frequently upon Aristotle as a famous sage and as the wise wazir of Alexander. For his brief biography see Rauzat-us-Safa Eng Trans, vol 11, part 1, p.284.

121. Barni admits that though the pre-Muslim Persian rulers were not Muslims, yet irrespective of their being unbelievers, their good deeds have survived in this world on account of their good government.

122. The term Ajam used by medieval Muslim writers is not coterminous with the boundaries (geographical) of Modern Persia. Broadly speaking the medieval Muslim historians by the term Ajam mean the land of the Sasanid emperors.

123. For Ardeshar Babakan the founder of the Sasanian dynasty see Sykes Hist of Per, vol 1, pp. 386-96. Also Rauzat-us-Safa Eng Trans, vol 11, part 1, pp. 326-330. The achievements of his reign are ascribed by Barni and other Muslim writers to the sane consel of his wazir, Abr Sam.

124. Here Barni appears to be recollecting the achievements of Sultan Ala-ud-din's reign.

125. Barni is a great believer that truth alone triumphs as he is advocating here but later in the F.J., we will find him stating that truth and righteousness do not always succeed.

126. Reading balatar az wazir-i-dana (بالاتر از وزیر دانا).

127. If this is the name of a particular history on the career of the second Caliph Umar Khattab, I have not been able to trace it. No reference to such a work is found in either Tarikh-i-Tabari or Ibn-i-Khalliqan.

128. Reading bi tamaii (بی طمعی).

129. Reading pak damani (پاک دامنی).

130. Amr Zaid and Bakr are eqal to Tom Dick and Harry in English language.

131. A lacuna. The context seems to require the insertion of shart dar kar-i-rai zani aan ast (شرط در کار رای زنی آن است).

132. A lacuna. The context seems to require the insertion of wa chaharum shart dar kar-i- rai zani aan ast (و چهارم شرط در کار رای زنی آن است).

133. Here Barni admits how the royal staff is obliged to second whatever the sovereign proposes. May be that this passage is a recollection of Barni's own experiences at the court of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq, whom he served as a courtier for seventeen years and four months. However, he admonishes his ideal ruler to grant freedom of speech to his counsellors so that unfettered counsel is given by them.

134. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of wa panjum shart dar kar-i-rai zani aan ast (و پنجم شرط در کار رای زنی آن است).

135. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of wa shashum shart dar kar-i-rai zani a an ast (و ششم شرط در کار رای زنی آن است).

136. Reading piran (پیران).

137. A lacuna. The context seems to require the insertion of wa haftum shart

dar kar-i-rai zani aan ast (وسیم شرط در کار رای زنی آنست).

138. A lacuna.

139. A lacuna.

140. Is Barni referring to the ' Pand Nama ' of Amir Su buktigin? The text of this has been published in the J.R.A.S., 1933, p. 605. Nazim says: ' The Pand Nama is the earliest work of its kind in the Persian language. ' See for ref to this work Jawami-ul-Hikayat of Awfi. B.M. Or 236. For a note on Amir Subutigin see T.N., pp 6-8. Barthold, pp. 261-65.

141. For Mahmud's regard for counsel see Nazim, Mahmd of Ghazna, pp. 128-9.

142. Sukhun-i-khud (سخن خود) repeated in the Ms. It could be that in order to lay emphasis on this Barni has repeated it.

143. A lacuna.

144. Abu Abdullah Mohammad b. Umar al Waqidi was born in Medina in 747 A.D and died at Baghdad in 823 A.D. He acted as a guide to Caliph Harun and Yahya during their pilgrimage to Mecca and later on he came to Harun's court at Baghdad. His great historical work Kitab-ul-Maghazi has survived and published at Calcutta by Alfred Von Kremer. Vide Huart, Hist of Ara Lit, pp. 175-6. Ibn-i-Khalliqan, De Slane, vol iii, pp. 61-64. Enc of Isl, vol T-Z, pp 1104-5. Browne, Lit His, vol 1, p. 277. Muir, Eng Tra in abstract of the Sirat-i-Ibn Sad, katib of Al Waqidi, Ms, I.O. 1055.

145. Reading ba zi wa zuhud (با ذی و زهد).

146. A lacuna.

147. A lacuna. Reading khilafat for khilaf (خلافت for خلاف) in the same line.

148. A lacuna. The word in brackets is my insertion.

149. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of bi (بے).

150. It is the collective name of the seven cities flourishing in the reign of Nausherwan, the Just of the Sasanian dynasty. Generally applied to Ctesiphon, vide Steingass, p. 1200. Barni refers to Madain as the dar-ul-Mulk of the Khosroes of Ajam. See Rehatsek, R.S., vol 3 part 11, p. 66. Browne, Lit His, p. 132, vol 1.

151. It is the Persian and Arabic form of Latin Ceasar. Reference found in the Sahih of Muslim meaning Emperor Heraclius, vol 11, p.99. The Muslim

historians use this term for all rulers of Byzantium (Rum) just as they use the title for all rulers of Ajam - Kisras. For further details see Rehatsek, R.S., vol 111, part 11, p. 67. Hughes, Dic, p. 48.

152. The Rauzat-us-Safa relates this campaign in detail. Vide Rehatsek, vol 111, part 11, pp 95-120. Also Muir, Caliphate, chap X1V, p. 97.

153. A clerical error. Reading na raftan for naftan (نارفتن for نافتن).

154. See note 152.

155. The Quran refers to the ancient religion of Persia as the religion of the Majus, chap XX11:17. Barni uses these terms to denote the adherents of the Zoroasterian faith. For details see Hughes, Dic, p. 716.

156. A lacuna. This anecdote is commonly quoted by medieval Muslim historians. Abu Ubaidah Saqafi was sent to help Mussanna, the commander of the Muslim army in the campaign against the Persians. He lost his life while fighting in the Battle of the Bridge (13.A.H, 634 A.D.). The Muslim army was badly defeated in this battle. See Salik, Early Heroes of Islam, pp. 276-78.

Barni has frequently drawn upon Caliph Umar. Thus a brief survey of his character seems necessary here. He owed his office not to election but to appointment by his predecessor Abu Bakr, who did so soon before his death. The orthodox view-point of Umar's character is presented in Maulana Mohd Ali's, Early Caliphate, p. 96. This Caliph is presented in Sunni Muslim history as an embodiment of justice, as a bitter hater of non-Muslims and as the principal personality to whom the credit of early Islamic expansion and conquests is ascribed. Al Faruq of Shibli Naumani deals with the career and achievements of this Caliph in Urdu. Barni's anecdote of the battle of Qadisiya, which is described here seems substantially correct. See Muir, Caliphate, chap X11 and chap X1V, pp. 82-112. Rehatsek, R.S., vol 111, part 11,pp. 95-119.

157. Talha, Zubair and Ayesha: Talha b. Ubaidullah, one of the early converts was also a leading companion of Mohammad. He was one of the Ashra Mubashiras. He defended Mohammad in the Battle of Uhad. Along with Zubair he fled to Medina from Mecca after the succession of Ali, and then being joined by Ayesha, the wife of Mohammad, they proceeded towards Iraq. Zubair b. Awwam was also an early convert to Islam also ranked among the Ashra Mubashiras. He was killed at the battle of the Camel in A.H. 36. For details see Rehatsek, R.S., vol 11, part 11, pp. 193-212. Also see Muir, Caliphate, pp. 241-252.
Ayesha was married to Mohammad at the age of six. The Rauzat-us-Safa says about her that she was the most prudent and wise of all the Mothers of the Faithful, vol 11, part 11, p. 769. The Hadis reported from her is considered authentic by Muslim theologians. For a brief note on her life see R.S., vol 11, part 11, pp. 767-770.

158. Amir Mu'awiya, the founder of the Ummayad dynasty became Caliph in A.D., 661. For his career see Muir, Caliphate, pp. 292-99.

159. Abdullah was the eldest son of Caliph Umar. He was converted to Islam at the same time as his father. He adopted a neutral attitude in the conflict of Ali and Mua'wiya declaring that he would accept that person as Caliph, who was accepted by the rest of the Muslim community.

Usama b. Zaid is reckoned among the freedman's of Mohammad. He fought gallantly at the battle of Hunan. See Muir, Caliphate, pp. 8-17. After Usman's death he refused to pay homage to Ali, whose supporters attacked and ill-treated him in the mosque at Medina. Thereafter he lived in retirement. See Ency of Isl, vol 1V, pp. 1048-9. Barni obviously is portraying him as a partisan of Ali in this anecdote, which in the presence of other historical evidence does not prove very convincing.
Mughirra Shubah was appointed by the second Caliph as the governor of Basra in succession to Otba. Ali protested to Usman against his being kept in office. He was also a partisan of Mua'wiya. Barni however, portrays him as a counsellor of Ali. For a note on him see Muir, Caliphate, p. 293.
Abu Ayyub Ansari in Muslim history is assigned a very respectful position. It was his house before whose door the camel of Mohammad stopped in Medina at the time of his flight from Mecca. He offered Mohammad the upper story of his house, but the latter chose the lower one for his stay. See Salik, Ear Heroes of Isl, pp. 84-85. Enc of Isl, vol 1, p. 75.

160. Reading farsang. فرسنگ

161. Reading khilafat.(خلافت).

162. The use of the term Jins in Quran is mostly used to denote beings without having any physical bodies and incapable of being touched or seen. In other words they are just s pirits. Vide Quran, chap LXX11, Mohd Ali, Holy Quran, p. 1123.

163. Reading naqisan for nakinan (ناقصان for ناکنان).

164. Reference to the Quranic verse stating how the birds were sent to destroy an army. chap Quran CV:3.

165. Ali the fourth among the Khulafa-i-Rashidun was the cousin and son-In-law of Mohammad. For his brief career see Rauzat-us-Safa, Rehatsek, vol 11, part 11, p. 187.. Also see Muir, Caliphate, pp. 234-89.

166. Reading majra for majrar (ماجراء for ماجرار).

NASIHAT NO 1V.

167. A lacuna.

168. Reading az awamir wa nawahi-i-oo (از اوامر ونواهی او).

169. A lacuna.

170. A lacuna.

171. A wao (و) is superfluous after wasilat (وسلیت).

172. The term Jababira is used for the Pharoahs or tyrant kings of Egypt, who launched claims to divinity. The Quran refers to them thus: ' But none believed in Moses....... on account of the fear of Pharoah and their chiefs lest they should persecute them. Pharoah was lofty in the land; and most surely he was of the extravagant. ' X:83.

173. A lacuna.

174. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of nawishta or gufta (نوشته or گفته), which Barni always uses when he does not quote any particular source of his information. The reference here is to the famous queen of Barda, Naushaba.

175. See note 172 where refernce has been made to the Pharoahs of Egypt.

176. A lacuna. Barni is referring to the famous Quranic verse: Hughes p 431.

177. A lacuna.

178. Nasikh wa Mansukh are those verses of the Quran in which the former cancels the latter. See Hughes, Dic, p. 431.

179. A lacuna.

180. Reading shake for shakre (شکے for شکرے).

181. A lacuna.

182. Zakat is one of the five obligations imposed on a believer by Islam. It is religious duty incumbent upon every Muslim subject of a Muslim state, who is free, sane and adult. Vide Hughes, Dic, pp. 669-700. For its heads of expenditure see Quran 9:60. For details see Aghnides, chap 11, p. 203. About Sadaqat the Quran says it would be better if it is given secretly. Chap 11:271. According to Hadis itis incumbent upon every Muslim. If a Muslim is financially in a position to give it to the poor, he should do so but if he himself is poor, his righteous conduct will amount to his giving sadaqat. Vide Bukhari, 56:72. Also see Hughes, Dic, p. 554. Also see Aghnides, chap 1X, p. 423.

183. A lacuna.

184. Here Barni does not quote the name of the historian but appears to refer to a general history of the Abbasid Caliphs.

185. The term Sultan had not come into vogue then; Barni thus must be using the term to indicate kings and rulers. The T.N. says that Mahmud of Ghaznin was the first king, who was styled as Sultan. Raverty, p. 76.

186. Reading gallah for kalma (گلہ for کلمہ).

187. Reading baha for bahar (بہا for بہار).

188. A lacuna.

189. The term Manat occurs inother medieval Muslim works also. For example in the T.N. it is used to denote the idol in the temple of Somnat, which Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin looted. Raverty, p. 82. Barni however explains it differently saying in the Fi F.J, that Manat was a term which stood for Somnat in the times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin.

190. Muqqadam in Medieval Muslim India meant a village head-man through whom the government dealt with the peasants. He was also known as Mukhiya. Vide Qureishi, Administration of the Delhi Sultanate, p. 207. By the term Zamindar is meant the landed chiefs of the place. These zamindars in those times were mostly Hindus, who paid tribute to the central government. According to Qureishi it was a term used for all kinds of chiefs irrespective of their status - either merely agents who helped the government in assessment and and realisation of revenue from administered territories or for tributaries who ruled over autonomous territories and in return paid a fixed tribute to the Sultan. p. 207.

191. Reading baiza for hafta which Barni uses elswhere also (بیضہ for ہفتہ).

192. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of ahaliyan (واہالیان).

193. Reading gabr (گبران) for giran (گران for گبران).

194. Reading panj (پنج).

195. A lacuna.

196. Buzurg Ummed was the tutor of Khusrau Parvez, the son of the Sasanid emperor Nausherwan the Just.

197. A lacuna. It appears from the context that no word is missing. Probably this blank space indicates the beginning of a verse, which follows.

198. Reading miskinat (مسکنت).

199. Reading azaridan for aridan (آزاریدن for آریدن).

200. Reading (اللّٰهم مزّق ملکه کما مزّق کتابی).

201. This anecdote is qu oted frequently by medieval Muslim historians. See Ibn-i-Hisham as cited by Muir in the Life Of Mohammad, Sira, p. 46. Muir, pp. 370-1. Rauzat-us-Safa, Rehatsek, vol 11, part 11, pp 524-528.

202. A lacuna.

203. Ms damaged. The context appears to require the insertion of pidar-i-oo) (پدر او).

204. Reading kushtah shud (کشته شد).

205. Mohammad Ibn-i- Ishaq one of the earliest biographers of Mohammad, who died in A.H. 151, is reported to have compiled a detailed biography of Mohammad. But this biography does not appear to be extant in its original form. Sir William Muir says: ' Its materials have been so extensively ~~used~~ adopted by Ibn-i-Hisham and wrought into his history in so complete and altered a form that we have probably not lost much by the absence of the work itself '. Vide Life of Mohammad, p. Lxxix. Browne holds similar views about this work not being extant, but he quotes De Goeje who is of opinion that it is still extant in its original form in Constantinople Library. Lit His, p. 276, vol 1. In the India Office library a Persian translation is available in manuscript form which claims to be the translation of the original of Sirat of Ibn -i- Ishaq. I.O. 1581. But this anecdote on Yazid, the son of Mua'wiya does not find a mention there. The whole work is limited to the life and achievements of Mohammad. For other details see Huart, His of Ara Lit, p.175. Islamic Quarterly, April 1954, ' The Biography of the Prophet in Recent Research '. P. 5. For an account of Yazid whose memories in Islamic history have been treasured as one of a tyrant, a wretch and a traitor, See Muir, Caliphate, p'300.

<u>NASIHAT NO V.</u>

206. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

207. An error of transcription. The word'Qawi' (قوی) which has been copied in the eleventh line must be placed in line twelve after the word yakdigar (یکدیگر).

208. The close relatioship between Justice and Religion as portrayed by Barni is shared by other medieval Muslim writers on ' government '. See my Introduction Part 111.

209. Prof Habib in his Trans of the Khazain-ul-Futuh of Amir Khusrau says: ' By the fraternity of Incest is meant the Carmathians, Ismailis and other Shiah ' heretics ' of the Sect of Seven Imams, whom the Orthodox Sunnis accused of permitting marriages within prohibited degrees and of practising incest in their secret assemblies. The charge, whether right or wrong, was generally believed '. p.127. Also Hughes, Dic, p. 188.

210. Reading hiraj wa miraj (هرج و مرج).

211. An error of transcription. The text requires aamir (آمر) instead of adl (عدل) in line 15, f. 44a.

212. Reading adl wa insaf (عدل و انصاف).

213. Reading ta for ya (تا for یا).

214. Medieval Muslim religious thought both mystic or non-mystic made a clear distinction between two types of religious scholars - those who used their learning with a view to advancing their material prospects in this world were called Ulama-i-dunyam and those, who lived for the next world, or tobe more exact for God alone were called Ulema-i-Akhirat or Ulema-i-batini). The Ulemas of the former category joined the service of contemporary rulers but the latter did not. The classic example of the latter is that of Abu Hanifa in Arabia and Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya in India. Keeping aloof from government service was the basic doctrine of the Chishtiya mystics of Barni's times. See Kashaf-ul-Mahjub for further details, Urdu Trans, p. 145. Fawaid-ul-Fuwad, pp. 204-5.

215. A lacuna.

216. Here again Barni is showing similarity of thought to his predecessors. See Ghazzali N.M. p 8 as cit Prof Lambton, Art Isl Quar, April, 1954. Also see Adab-ul-Muluk of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, f. 18b. For detailed comparison see Translator's Introduction, part 111.

217. Reading dar (در).

218. Reading naimat for ghazab (نعمت for غضب), which occurs twice in the same sentence and does not give sense.

219. Compare A.M., where Fakhr-i-Muddabir instructs his ideal ruler to follow the middle course, f. 43a. Also Q.N., whcih shows similar reflections. Eng Trans, Sheikh, p. 36.

220. A lacuna.

221. Ms repeats itself from f. 47a line 5 to f. 49b line 7.

222. Ms not clear but the previous folio supplies the required word khurand (خورند).

223. Reading darmandgan for darindgan (درماندگان for درندگان).

224. This word could be read either as bidarg (بدرج) or mundarig (مندرج). I have preferred to use the latter word for Barni always uses this.

225. Reading tabzir (تبذیر).

226. A lacuna.

227. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word hikayat (حکایت).

228. Reading kalisa daran (کلیسه داران) for kuliya daran (کلیه داران).

229. Ms not clear. The context needs to be read as diyar (دیار).

230. Tabi'ins - those who conversed with the associates (Companions) of Muhammad. Hadis related by them is considered to be of high authoritative value. Vide Hughes, Dic, p. 624.

231. Reading ta qiyamat na khwahad bud. (تا قیامت نخواهد بود).

232. Reading muhib (محب).

233. Abu Ubaidah Jarrah to whom Barni refers here was one of the leading Companions of Mohammad. After Khalid b. Walid had defeated the Byzantine army at the Battle of Yarmuk in 663 A.D., he was asked by Omar to hand over the charge to Abu Obaidah. Vide Muir, Caliphate, pp. 127-30. Also see R.S., Rehatsek, vol 111, part 11, p. 88.

234. Reading aan na ke (آن نه که). A crore is equal to £ 500,000. Vide Steingass, p. 1025.

235. Sahan means a courtyard, square, plot and a lawn. I have preferred to translate it as courtyard.

236. Reading istashhad for istahad (استشهاد for استهاد).

237. This term has been used by Barni in his T.F.S. also just to indicate an assembly held by the king in which the Ulemas and the notables of his realm collected together in order to discuss some important problem of governmental business.

238. In this anecdote Barni refers to Abu Mohammad Yahya b. Aksam, who was the Qazi of Baghdad during the reign of al Mamun. He had obtained considerable influence over the Caliph and no one could surpass him in obtaining the favour of the Caliph. But in spite of being so close to al Mamun, Yahya Aksam was very orthodox in his religious belief. He was deposed by Caliph Mutawakkil in A.D. 854. His wealth was seized by force. Muir about al-Mamun's appointment of his successor says that he was only forty-eight when fever overtook him. The illness gaining rapidly and he finding his end nearing had a rescript drawn up for all the Provinces proclaiming his brother, Abu Ishaq, as his successor under the title of Mu'tasim. Vide Caliphate, p. 510.

NASIHAT NO VI.

238a. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

239. Maqadir literally means quantities, spaces, measures, decrees and fates. Steingass, p. 1288. Barni has however, used it in synonymous terms

with mawazin implying ranks and grades of the royal Nobles.

240. Reading muda (   ), vide Steingass Mu'adda, p. 1342.

241. The word in brackets is my insertion.

242. Barni emphasises on the free-birth of a royal noble or any other employee. For his rulers also Barni lays down free-birth as an indispensable quality. For details see Translator's Intro part 111.

243. Reading shutur wa gurbah (شتر و گربہ). This is avery oft-quoted phrase of Barni in the F.J. as well as his T.F.S. It stands for two completely disproportionate things - camel and cat.

244. This is another phrase popularly used by Barni in his F.J. and T.F.S., meaning confusion. The constant use of these idioms do tend to give a beauty to Barni's style of writing.

245. A clerical error. The context appears to require the insertion of na (نے) before mahzuz (محظوظ).

246. See note 123.

247. Belief in the future life is one of the fundamentals of Islam. 'Life', says Levy, 'inthe world is of little value or importance for the believer; indeed it is contemptible in the eyes of Allah.... '. Sociology, p 28, vol 11. Thus a believer always looks to his salvation in the next world and attaining to high spiritual grades in Paradise. Ref to this in Quran are very frequent, 17:13, 17:72, 89:27-30.

248. Reading daman-i-iishan migirad (دامن ایشان میگیرد).

249. Reading chunin (چنین).

251.
250/ A lacuna. The words in brackets are my additions.

252. Reading jahi dunyaii (جاہی دنیائی).

253. An error of transcription. Reading bebadl for bebazl (بےبدل for بےبذل).

254. An error of transcription. The word dunya (دنیا) occuring twice in the Ms. Reading dunya wa din (دنیا و دین).

255. Reading taarrukan for arkan (تارکان for ارکان). Here Barni is giving expresssion to the traditions of his spititual guide Sheikh Nizam ud-din. Compare Isl Cul, p. 11, Oct 1948.

256. Here again a very clear reference to the Chishtiya mystics of author's times. Vide Siyar-ul-Auliya, Del edi, p 166.

257. A mystic phrase used to denote the two opposite states of the heart; qabz being a contraction and bast an expansion of the spiritual state. See Hughes, Dic, p. 477.

258. Reading buzurgi for bargi (بزرگی for برگی).

259. Reading badbakhtan raushan na shawand (بدبختان روشن نشوند).

260. Reading awwal aan ast (اوّل آن است).

261. The context appears to require the insertion of bar (بر).

262. Reading arzal wa tannaffur (ارذل و تنفّر).

263. Reading miyana wa aakhir (میانه و آخر). Barni repeats them in line 4 of the same folio 61b.

264. Ms damaged. Reading pasandida (پسندیده).

265. For a note on Asmai and his works see note 88.

266. Bani Hashim is the name of the tribe to which Mohammad belonged. His great grandfather was named Hashim. It is related that his original name was Amr but the name Hashim was given to him for his hospitable nature. Vide Hughes, Dic, p 168.

267, 268 and 269. The references are to the wars of Mohammad. The Rauzat-us-Safa gives a description of these wars. See Rehatsek, vol 11, parts i and ii. Also Muir, Life Of Mohammad.

270. For the conquest of Mecca by Mohammad see Rehatsek, R.S., vol 11 part 11, pp. 580-614. Here Barni is outlining the distinction that the Muslims were given share in the spoils of war according to their precedence in pronouncing the Muslim Faith.

271. Reading tayyun (تعیّن), which the text repeats after a few lines.

272. Reading tabjil (تبجیل).

273. Reading khast (خاست).

274. 'Abu Bakr had divided the spoils of war equally among the Muslims, no matter whether the recipient was young or old, slave or free, male or female.' Vide Grunebaum, Med Islam, pp. 170-1.

275. Abu Mansur Abdul Malik al Sa'alibi to whom Barni seems to be referring here was born at Nishapur in A.D. 961 and died in 1038 A.D. Ibn-i-Khalliqan gives a note on his life. He says: ' In that age he was the man who postured his genius on the loftiest summits of knowledge '. Vide De-Slane vol 11, p. 26. He also tells us that the finest, longest and most comprehensive work of Sa'alibi is ' Yatimat-ud-Dahr fi Mahasin-i-Ahl-ul-Asr. The authorship of Kitab-ul-Ghurar-us-Siyar dealing with the ancient history of the Persians is also ascribed to him. This work has been published and translated by Zotenberg. Vide Huart, Hist of Arab Lit, pp. 165-66. Rosenthal remarks about him: ' At-Thalibi certainly did not have the historical insight and feeling for history, whcih distinguished Miskawayh '. Vide A Hist of Mus Historiography, pp. 123-24. Also see Enc of Isl, vol 1V, p 732. No history by the name of the Tarikh-i-Abbasian has yet been discovered to have been compiled by him.

276. Reading khwast (خواست).

277. Reading ashghal (اشغال).

278, Summarising al Mamun's character Muir says: ' Al Mamun was undoubtedly upon the whole a ruler at once just and mild. Repeated change in views and sentiments, both political and religious, was due partly to Persian training and affinity, partly to a yielding nature, whcih made him unduly subject.... to personal influence. He cannot be acquitted of acts of capricious violence, some of which are just as cruel as those whcih stain the memory of his predecessors '. Caliphate, p. 509.

NASIHAT NO V11.

279. Reading aalam-i- (عالمی).

280. Reading faro malidan (فرومالیدن).

281. Reading danayan for danyan (دانایان for دانیان).

282. The terms murratab wa mustayid (مرتب و مستعد) are used by Barni to denote well-equipped and organised army. Technically its meaning is different. Qureishi tells us that in the Delhi Sultanate the cavalry was divided into murratab, sawar and do-aspah, that is, men with two horses each, with single horses and with no horses of their own. P. 141. Also see his Appendix J, p. 251.

283. Reading baz (باز). Jamshed was the last ruler of the mythical dynasty of the Peshdadians (or law-givers). He was the discoverer of wine and he had a mysterious goblet, the Jam-i-Jamshed of which a number of stories are told. He degenerated during the later period of his reign and

was overthrown by the Arab Zuhak. Vide R.S., Rehatsek. Text, pp 172-76, vol 1. But Jamshed is also identified with the Indo-Iranian Yama, the god of death. Browne, Lit His, vol 1, pp. 112-114. Shah Nama, Atkinson, abridged trans, pp. 10-34.

284. Ms not clear. Reading tughyan (طغیان).

285. Ariz-i-Mumalik or Ariz-i-Asl was the head of the Ministry of War - Diw-ani-Arz. He was responsible for maintaining the army in a state of efficiency and was also responsible for the entire administration of military affairs. See Barni's T.F.S. pp. 60, 114, 170. Amir Khusrau, Kh.F, p 50. Afif, T.F.S. p. 299, 300. Qureishi says: ' The Sultanate of Delhi started as an armed camp in the midst of a partially subjugated and hostile population.....' p. 136. The Sultans of Delhi paid special regard to the maintenance of their armed forces. Compare Barni's discussion here with his T.F.S., pp. 62, 101, 116.

286. See note 282.

287. The word sar (سر) missing in the text. The context appears to require its insertion.

288. Here it appears as if there is an error of transcriptionin the Ms. On f. 66a Barni mentions the fourth requisite for the increase and stability of the army. On this folio again he gives the number fourth. It needs to be numbered five and this would imply change of number on f. 65b also.

289. Barni refers to a work known as Ma'asir-ul-Wuzara. Two books of the names Asar-ul-Wuzara of Saif ud-din Haji b. Nizam al Fazli, Camb Uni Lib ClX, Add. 214 (Lewis) 32) and the Dastur-ul-Wuzara by Ghiyas ud-din Khwandmir, B.M. Or 234, are found to be extant. But will Barni refer to these works - they were compiled later?

290. Buzurchemehr was the famous wazir of Nausherwan the Just. Vide R.S., Rehatsek, vol 11, part 1, p. 381-88. Asaf was the well-known wazir of Prophet Solomon.

291. Reading cheda wa guzida (چیده وگزیده).

292. Reading aan qaum ra keh (آن قوم را که).

293. The context requires the insertion of this verb.

294. The word here could be read either as qalil-ul-adad or qalil-ul-hadade. I have read it as qalil-ul-adad (قلیل العدد).

295. Referencehere is to Korah, who is mentioned in the Quran as Qarun. Vide XL:24-25. His wealth is proverbial.

296. Barni has not quoted the name of the author of this work. Is he referring to the Tarikh-i-Abbasian of as Sa'alibi as quoted previously?

297. Barni's fondness for the House of Barmak is obvious from his translation of an Arabic history of the Barmakids. Or 151, B.M. Barmak the ancestor of the Persian noble family of the Bermakides was a Magian and the high priest of the great Fire Temple of Nawbahar at Balkh. His descendants so wisely directed the affairs of the Muslim Caliphate for fifty years (A.D. 752-804), and by their generous patronage of learning, lavish hospitality, and wise administration they conferred such lustre upon them reigns of the first five Abbasid Caliphs, that their name is still alive on the pages of time. About their fall Prof Browne says: ' The insensate jealousy of Harun-ur-Rashid led him to destroy Jafar and al Fadl, the sons of Yahya, the son of Khalid, the son of Barmak, and many members of their family '. Lit His vol 1, p. 257.

298. Verb missing in the text. The verb within brackets is my addition.

299. Such close knowledge of the details of Sultan Mahmud's affairs leads one to think that the author of the F.J., had close access to the Sultan. For a discussion of this point see Translator's Introduction, part 1.

300. Reading Hindu bardeh (ہندو بردہ).

301. An error of transcription in the Ms. Reading ham for manum (هم for منم).

302. Barni in these lines is relating the need for the king to have a slave army. The S.N. of Nizam ul-Mulk deals with this subject at length. Compare chaps 24-26, Allah edi, pp 92-94. Barni is substantially repeating his views. Barni's criticism of a slave army is based on his own remark - it is difficult to extinguish a domestic fire. In his T.F.S., he says'that the Turkish slaves known as the Chahlgani became dominant over the affairs of the kingdom........ they removed the free-born maliks and well-known noblemen from among themselves who were honoured and trusted before the throne of Shams ud-din Iltutmish.... the worthless and the dirham purchased (slaves) cannot rise and become chiefs and leaders.' pp 26-27.

303. Lit a voice, sound or clamour. Here it is used to indicate fame and repute.

304. Reading shawand for shunid (شوند for شنید).

305. Reading bardigan. (بردگان).

305a. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of wa dum daqiqa (ودم دقیقه).

306. Reading ru'b (رعب).

307. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxThe word in brackets is my addition~~ Reading daiman (دائما).

308. A damage. The previous foilio supplies the word bayd (باید). In the next line reading the damaged word as hirfat. (حرفت).

309. A clerical error in the Ms. Reading bar aarad (برآرد).
310. Is this Tarikh-i-Akasira a particular history of the Khosroes? In his T.F.S., Barni refers to a book Tarikh-i-Kisrawi. Probably the two books are identical. T.F.S. pp. 509-11. In his introduction to this Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi Barni even gives the name of the history of the Khosroes. p. 14. But it does not seem to be extant.

311. Reading Jizya (جزیه).

312. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of shud (شد) after mamur (معمور).

313. Reading mumalik-i-oo malha (ممالک او مالها).

314. Reading mawajib (مواجب) in the first line and mahsul (محصول) in the second.

315. Reading lashkar-i- (لشکری).

316. The advent of Mazdak is proved by non-Persian sources - Pahlavi, Greek and Syrian. Vide Browne, Lit His, vol 1, p. 169. Thus he cannot be dismissed as an unhistorical person. The R.S. says: ' After ten years had elapsed of the reign of Qubad, a man from Estakhar (Persepolis), named Mazdak, made his appearence, and desired to found a new religion. Rehatsek, vol 11, part 1, p. 369. Prof Lewis our latest authority on this subject says that Mazdak wanted a community of property and may have desired a community of women. Origin of Ismailism. The S.N., considers Mazdakism a pre-Muslim sect to have continued into Islam in the form Of Ismailism. chaps 24,25,26.

317. Reading chand (چند) in the first line on this folio and pushid (پوشید) in the second line.

318. The text indecipherable. Reading aan kam shud (آن کم شد).

319. Reading Kiyani. For an account of this dynasty see Browne, Lit His, vol 1, pp. 115-117.

320. Barni's anecdote is found in a similar tone as compared with the S.N., chap 44. The Rauzat-us-Safa also gives us a detailed account of Qubad's reign and refers to the influence exercised by Mazdak on this king. Vide Rehatsek, vol 11, part 1, pp. 370-71. Barni tells us about the death of Qubad but this is not corroborated by other histories. Qubad is reported to have been deposed and imprisoned by the priests and noblemen for his adherence to Mazdakism but later he regained his throne. See Sykes, vol 1, pp. 441-444. R.S. Rehatsek, pp 370-71, vol 11, part 1. From such unauthoritative-statements of Barni one is inclined to believe that Barni surely did not have any reliable material by his elbow while writing the F.J. It appears that he was simply depending on his failing memory.

NASIHAT NO V111.

321. On this folio anew Nasihat begins. It is numbered as XI. The title given to it is ' On the Advantages of a well- filled Treasury '. This Nasihat stats with a brief note on the importance of wealth. But soon the author changes the subject matter and discusses the need of the appointment of ' barids '. On folio 80b the title of a new Nasihat is given and it is numbered X11 and the title given to it runs: ' On the Appointment of Barids by Religious Kings '. This title appears superfluous on this folio since the question of the appointment of Barids has already been started by the author. Besides on f. 81a the same title occurs again. Obviously this confusion must have been caused by the transposition in the original Ms from which the present copy was made, or else the copysit of this Ms copy is responsible for wrongly transcribing these folios. There could have been a seperate Nasihat in the original Ms, because the need of a well-filled treasury is certainly important to be included in a book on ' Government and Administration '. Hence either the major portion of the Nasihat on a well-filled treasury was lost when the present copy was made or the copyist skipped over some folios. The present Nasihat with the exception of the first few lines deals with Barids; thus I am inclined to treat as an independent Nasihat. The title of the Nasihat on a well-filled treasury has also been indicated in the translation.

322. Though these two Nasihats are numbered in the Ms, Iam numbering them on the basis of my calculation in order to connect them with the rest of the Nasaih.

323. Ms damaged. Reading muhabbat (محبت).

324. Reading mel (میل).

325. The context requires the insertion of nah (نه) here.

326. For this Hadis see Bukhari, 11:11.

327. Barni quotes a history of Alexander. Does he mean the Sikander Nama of Nizami of Ganja or the Ainai Sikanderi of his friend Amir Khusrau? But it is very doubtful if Barni would quote books which were compiled after the reign of his eponymous hero - Sultan Mahmud.

328. Reading az dast-i-khud. (از دست خود).

329. A lacuna. The title of a new Nasihat starts here.

330. Reference here is to the punishments assigned by the Sharia. Had in Quran means 'limit' laid down by Quran i.e., the provisions of the law, whether commands or prohibitions. Vide 11:183, 11:229 et seq, as cit Enc of Isl,

vol 11, part 1, p. 187. Edi 1927. In Muslim criminal law <u>had</u> means an unalterable punishment prescribed by canon law, which is considered a 'right of God'. These punishments are (1) stoning or scourging for illicit intercourse, (2) scourging for falsely accusing a married woman of adultery, (3) the same punishment for the drinking of wine and other intoxicating liquors, (4) cutting off the hands for theft, (5) various punishments for robbery, which differ according to circumstances of Quran. Although the above mentioned breaches of the law are considered very serious, the criminal can nevertheless hope for the mercy of God, because he has offended against Him. Enc of Isl, pp. 187-88. Tazir in law signifies an infliction undetirmined in its degree by the law, on account of the right either of God, or of the individual; and the occasion of it is any offence for which Had, or stated punishment has not been appointed, whether that offence consists in word or deed. Vide Hughes, Dic, pp 632-634.

331. A lacuna.

332. Verb missing in the text. The verb in brackets is my insertion.

333. This sentence is left incomplete in the text though no lacuna occurs here. Reading baridan for barilan (بریدان for بریلان).

334. Reading mahi for muhme (ماهی for مُهمی).

335. Text damaged. Reading bamawazna (بموازنه).

336. Reading baridi (بریدی).

337. Text not clear. Reading shanakht (شناخت).

338. Reading niyat for nist (نیت for نیست).

339. Ms damaged. Reading paighambar (پیغامبر).

340. The Ms says shustan (شستن).

341. Reading aamir wa mamur for aamir wa namur (آمر و مامور for آمر و نامور).

342. Reading furushi (فروشی).

343. Reading ba niyat (به نیت).

344. This anecdote is not found in any Ghaznavide history or historical works dealing with the Ghaznavides written later. The Tabaqat-i-Nasiri tells us how Mahmud's court was honeycombed with spies. It relates how when Abu Nasr Mishkan having gome out of the royal majlis to express the concern of himself and his fellow-officers to Masud...... the matter was immediately reported to

Mahmud. Per Text, p, 13. From this statement of the T.N., one can imagine the number and efficiency of Mahmud's spies. For Mahmud's system of organising this department see Nazim, pp. 145-6. Barthold says: ' A system of espionage had this drawback that it might be used also as a weapon against the monarch '. He further says: ' If Mahmud set spies on his son, Masud, Masud also set spies on his father's Chancellory '. p. 306. For the appointment of barids and their functions in the Delhi Sultanate, see Habibullah, pp. 223-4, Qureishi, pp. 89-92, Aziz Ahmad, Early Turkish Empire of Delhi, p. 362.

345. Barni again is not quoting the name of the author here. Previously he has quoted a history of the Abbasids written by as Sa'alibi.

346. Reading sitwat for dut (سطوت for دوت). In the following line reading tamtaraq (طمطراق).

347. Text damaged. Reading taliban (طالبان).

348. Reading asfia (اصفیاء). Before this word reading ittaqya (اتقیاء).

349. Ms repeats itself.

350. Reading na shawad (نه شود).

351. The sentence requires the insertion of keh (که).

352. Reading bekhast (بخاست).

353. Reading sunniyan (سنیان).

354. Reading zuhud (زهد).

355. Reading befarmanan (بےفرمانان).

356. Reading bargirift. (برگرفت).

357. Reading pish az pish (پیش از پیش).

358. How far al Mamun could be reported to have adopted the traditions of Sufis and recluses, giving lessons in the Orthodox religious sciences, has been discussed in the translator's Introduction, part 11, sec Authenticity of Barni's anecdotes. No medieval Muslim historian has attributed to al-Mamun a policy of religious orthodoxy.

NASIHAT NO IX.

359. This Nasihat is numbered X111 in the Ms.

360. Ms damaged. Reading riwaj wa raunaq (رواج و رونق) in the first line and wa farawan (و فراوان) in the second.

361. Ms damaged. Reading na shawand (نه شوند).

362. Reading ghallat for ghulmat (غلات for ظلمات).

363. Reading kunand for na kunand (کنند for نکنند).

364. Reading talkhiya garan meaning those who embitter others lives. I have translated as swindlers as the context implies.

365. Reading harisan for hasidan (حارسان for حاسدان).

366. Text damaged. Reading khiradmandan (خردمندان).

367. Text damaged. Reading pushida nist (پوشیده نیست).

368. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of chaharum (چهارم).

369. Reference is to the well-known Hadis: ' Take from the rich amongst you anf give it to your poor '. Vide B, 24:1.

370. Reading na migardad (نه میگردد).

371. The word hukm (حکم) appears to be missing in the text.

372. Reading dar zara'at (در زراعت).

373. Reading ba wujud-i-keh (باوجودکه).

374. Here Barni is advocating that the footsteps of a ruler are inevitably followed by his subjects. But in the first two Nasaih, he has been stressing that if a ruler is unable to be pious in his actions because of his sensual self that does not imply that he should let the subjects do the same.

375. Reading batarik wa tazir (بتریک و تعزیر).

376. Reading dardin wa (دردین و).

377. That by the designation farzandan-i-Mahmud Barni means all Muslim kings is evident from this statement here. This admonition of his is also intended for those kings who are not Muslims i.e., who are not entitled to the spiritual sonship of Sultan Mahmud.

378. Reading mulkrani (ملک رانی).

379. Reading jahanban (جهانبان).

380. Barni advocates that the institution of Monarchy is borrowed by

Mussalmans from the Persians. Jamshedi represents rather symbolises kingship and it is repugnant to the Laws of the Quran and the Hadis. But Barni is of opinion that as it could serve God's purpose - the promotion of the True Religion, it can be justified.

381. Reading khirqa - the cloak of the Sufis. Sheikh Ali Hajweri remarks: ' I asked the Grand Sheikh, Abul Qasim Gurgani at Tus saying: ' What is the least thing necessary for a darvesh in order that he may become worthy of poverty? ' He replied: ' A darvesh must not have less than three things: first, he must know how to sow on a patch rightly (on his cloak)........ Vide Kashaf-ul-Mahjub, Nicholson's Trans, p. 49.

382. Reading malbas (ملبس).

383. Text damaged. Reading niyaz (نیاز).

384. This sentence is the key to Barni's theory and justification of Monarchy in Islam.

385. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of shaukat (شوکت).

386. Reading qatl. (قتل).

387. Reading pish-i-khud (پیش خود).

388. Text damaged. Reading afrisham (آفریشم).

389. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of giraftan (گرفتن).

390. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of goosht (گوشت).

391. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of munkirat (منکرات).

392. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of shaukat (شوکت).

393. Reading nafi for nami (نافی for نامی).

394. Reading koran for kowaran (کوران for کواران).

395. Reading tar and (تراند).

396. Barni shows full consciousness of the Muslims's lack of true regard for their religion. He even admits that the believers are frightened of royal sword rather than of Quran.

397. Barni again is refraining from quoting the author's name.

By this book does he mean a specific work or any history dealing with the good deeds of the Companions.

398. Reading aslah (اسلح).

399, 400. Barni is using the vocabulary of the Delhi Sultanate. A muqqadam or a mukhiya were the headmen of villages through whom the Imperial government dealt with the peasants. Vide Qureishi, p. 207. According to Moreland Khut was a Hindu chief subject to the Sultan. Vide Agrarian System of Muslim India, pp. 225-6. Qu reishi says that khuts were the agents who helped the government in assessment and realisation of revenue from administered territories. P. 207. The Muqqadams and Khuts enjoyed great concessions from the beginning of Muslim rule and lived in ease and comfort, Vide Barni, T.F.S. p 291.

401. Reading ba asp (به اسپ).

402. In this Nasihat Barni has dealt with the same subject matter as in his T.F.S. In the F.J., however the importance of economic stability is emphasised by Barni without referring to Ala ud-din Khilji, but in his T.F.S., he gives us a similar picture of the economic regulations of this ruler. Compare T.F.S. pp. 316-318. The arguments put forward against regrating are again his reminiscences of the Doab region in Northern India. Ala ud-din when enforcing his economic reforms organised the Hindu naiks into transport merchants (karwanian) and entrusted the import tof cloth to a group of Hindus, who were merchants by profession and were called Multanis. Barni attributes the high prices of commodities to the degeneration of human character; he fails to recognise that lack of law and organisation and the lack of provisions for transport were responsible for extortionate prices and regrating. Mere severity as Barni advocates to be exercised on the shop-keepers would not have lead to fruitful results.

NASIHAT X.

403. The number given to this Nasihat is XIV but I am following my numerical order.

404. Repitition in the Ms. Reading maya wa paya (مایه و پایه).

405. Reading khabt-i-Ishwa for zabt-i-ishwa (خبط عشوا for ضبط عشوا), since Barni repeats this phrase elsewhere in the F.J.

406. Ms repeats Insaf in the previous line. The words in brackets are my additions.

407. Previously Barni referred to Tarikh-i-Akasira and now he quotes the Tarikhi Kisrawi. As already stated he refers to the Tarihk-i-Kisrawi of Ai'n in his T.F.S., Intro.

408. Reading khimyaza-i-gunah (خمیازۂ گناہ).

409. Barni refers to the Sikander Nama-i-Ru mian here but previously while dilating upon Alexander he quoted the Tarikh-i-Sikanderi. Probably he is referring to the same book. Since he did not quote the name of the author of the previous work and also abstains to do so in the case of the present book it is rather difficult to trace it.

4L0. A pas or pahr (پاس or پہر) is a certain duration of time comprising of three hours.

411. Reading najyan (ناجیان).

412. Reading sunniya for sinah (سُنّیہ for سینہ).

413. Literally age of laziness. Vide Steingass, p. 1067.
A lacuna on the following folio line 12.
414. Sama is a mystic term used for music-audition. Sheikh Ali Hajweri says: ' It is permissible to hear poetry ', Kashaf, Nicholson Trans, p. 397. He divides the mustamian (auditors) into two categories - those who hear the spiritual meanin g, and those who,hear the material sound. Nichol-son, p. 402.

415. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of sum (سوم).

416. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of chaharum (چہارم).

417. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of bashari (بشری).

418. A lacuna.

419. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of hikayat (حکایت), which Barni always uses citing an illustration.

420. Barni sometimes refers to the Tarikh-i-Ma'asir-i-Sahabah as a book written by Imam Asmai, sometimes he does not quote the name of its author and yet now he is attributing it to Imam Mohammad Ishaq. This confusion is likely to lead us to conclude that he is citing these works at random.
421.
Reading tartib baz bashakist (ترتیب باز بشکست).

422. Reading nizd for nabar (نزد for نبر).

423. Reading Abdullah implying Umar.

424. Reading Muslimin for muslin (مسلمین for مسلین).

425. A lacuna.

426. The Ms gives taraj (تراج) whcih means amen, solet it be, turraj (تُرّاج) meaning a woodcock. Vide Steingass. p. 291. The insertion within brackets is my addition. It could be read as khash (خاش).

427. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of mustahqan (مستحقان).

428. A repitition.

429. Reading ma'asir for baasar (مآثر for باثر).

430. Reading mazuran for mayuban (معذوران for معیوبان).

431. The Ms breaks off here. Pages rather folios from line 13, folio 114b to 115a left blank. In this anecdote Barni has portrayed an Orthodox picture of the second Caliph Umar. For details see Muir, pp. 190-1.

432. Barshikal is a Sanskrit term for rainy season (barsat). Barni here is contemplating the climatic conditions of Northern India. Does Khorasan have monsoonic rains?

433. Reading wuzura for wuza-i- (وزرای for وزای).

434. Reading biwaqt (بیوقت).

435. This anecdote of Arzalu Shah is not found in other medieval Muslim histories.

NASIHAT NO XI.

436. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of Nasihat (نصیحت).

437. Reading warzidan (ورزیدن).

438. Reading mawazat (موازات).

439. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of jahan (جهان).

440. A clerical error. Reading batil bar haq ghalba na kunad (باطل بر حق غلبه نکند) and ayad for niayad (آید for نیاید) which again seems to be a clerical error. Ms repeats this sentence.

441. Reading rayan for rawian (رایان for راویان). The term Rai was the title of Hindu chiefs. According to Qureishi they were tributaries, who ruled

over autonomous regions or territories and paid a fixed tribute to the Sultan. p. 207. This implication is testified by the demcritption Barni is giving here of these Rais.

442. Reading haftsad for hesad (هفتصد for هیصد). This also indicates that the F.J., must have been compiled during eighth century of the Hijra or the fourteenth century of the Christian era.

443. Reading din wa daulat for din wa dawat (دین و دولت for دین و دوات).

444. Reading daman nagirad (دامن نگیرد).

445. Ms damaged on the first line of folio 120b. Reading aspan-i-tazi (اسپان تازی). In the sixth line of the same folio reading thakur, saha, mehta and pandit (ٹھاکر - ساہا - مہتہ - پنڈت). The whole idiom at this place represents a picture of the Hindu aristocracy in the Delhi Sultanate. Reading rui ayad (روئے آید) in the first line, folio 121a.

446. Ms damaged. Reading bulandi girad (بلندی گیرد).

447. Reading badmazhabani (بدمذہبانی).

448. Reading raghbat for raiyyat (رغبت for رعیت).

449. Reading nikan wa munsifan (نیکان و منصفان).

450. Reading na numayand (نه نمایند).

451. Reading az miyan birawad (از میان برود).

452. Reading bahaq ruz wa shab (بحق روز و شب).

453. Reading jalwa na kunad (جلوه نه کند). Also reading na numayad (نه نماید) in the previous line.
454. Reading na numayad for numayad (نه نماید for نماید) which obviously is a clerical error.

455. Reading biguzarand for bigudazand (بگزارند for بگدازند).

456. Reading ziafat khanha (ضیافت خانها).

457. Reading naguzrad (نگزرد).

458. Reading ghaddari (غداری).

459. Reading qahr wa qudrat (قهر و قدرت).

460. Reading mankub for maknub (منکوب for مکنوب).

461. Reading mubtigha-i- (مبتغای).

462. The sentence left incomlete in the text but no lacuna occurs.

463. Here Barni refers to a work which he calls the Ma'athir-i-Khulafa. But the name of the author is not mentioned.

464. Reading Dar-us-Salam (دارالسلام).

465. Reading liwatat (لواطت).

466. Reading dar-ul-liyam used in contrast with dar-us-Salam (دارالیام).

467. Reading taghabuh for ta'azun (تغابن for تعاون).

468. Literally on the whole.

469. Reading darha for dar balaha (درها for دربالاها).

470. A spelling mistake. Reading aayad (اعیاد). The two festivals of I'd are - I'd-ul-Fitr and I'd-uz-Zuha.

471. Reading aasar for asar (آثار for اسار).

472. Reading dast mizanand (دست میزنند).

473. Reading sarwat for sarfat (ثروت for ثرفت).

474. Reading nakhist for tahat (نخست for, تحت).

475. Reading juzwiyat (جزویت).

476. Reading asabiat (عصبیت).

477, A clerical error. Reading ijharan (اجهاراً).

478. Ms repeats itself from folio 131a line 12 to folio 133b line 3. On folio 131a the sentence was left incomplete and so is on folio 133b.

NASIHAT NO X11.

479.

From the subject matter it appears that this is a new Nasihat, which starts from folio 133b line 3. Since the last portion of the previous Nasihat and the beginning of this one are missing it is felt that either the original from which the present copy was made was lacking in these folios, or the copyist of the present Ms is guilty of leaving some folios uncopied. From the contents of this Nasihat it appears that its original title could have been ' On Ruler's Inborn Justice and His Quest for Individual and Public

Equality '. The central theme of the F.J., is that the ruler must dinting-uish between the men of high birth and those of humble origin. Even in this Nasihat he is stressing on the importance of the ruler's regard for the status of his respective subjects. Barni usually repeats the title of his Nasaih in the text of the Nasaih. Here since he constantly emphasises the ruler's need to strive for maintaining equality between his subjects as the case may be, it appears that this mustmhave been a part of the original title. Moreover Barni also points out that this important problem could only be tackled by a king who is endowed with inborn justice, it is assumed that he must have indicated it in the title of the Nasihat, which unfortunately is missing. However, I have kept this title within brackets.

480. Barni is constantly advocating that human beings by the very law of nature are subject to error and fault. This vice has been inherited by them from their great ancestor Adam. It is only the prophets who are created by the Almighty incapable of committing sins. Men in order to combat their evil instinct have a remedy at hand. If they follow the dictates of the ' Holy Law ' they will be able to walk on the right path. Their evil will thus be cured. This reasoning of Barni is the sum total of his social, moral, ethical and political philosophy.

481. Reading qurb for fart (قُرب for فرت).

482. Reading mudda aleh (مدعی علیه).

483. Lit he does not look at the faces of the rich, poor......

484. Reading nah khawanand (نه خوانند). In the third line of this folio reading mukhalifat. (مخالفت).

485. Barni's views are shared in this respect by other medieval Muslim writers on 'Government '. See translator's Intro part 111.

486. An oversight on the part of the copyist. Barni has mentioned elsewhere in the F.J., that Usman was also one of the Khulaf-i-Rashidun. He exhibits great respect for him.

487. Here Barni is touching upon a very crucial point. He shows how with the need of the hour the character of Muslim government requires to be changed. Return to the days of the Orthodox Caliphs is not advisable for the Muslim rulers since by doing so the Muslimrulers will fail to subdue the hostile forces and thus will be unable to protect and promote the True Faith. The word in brackets is my addition for the lacuna that occurs here.

488.
A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of hikayat (حکایت).

488a. Ms repeats khana dar Medina (خانه در مدینه).

489.
Reading fawakeh (فواکه).

490. Reading nadan for nadanand (نادان for نادانند).

491. Reading baqqalan (بقالان).

492. Diwan-i-Riyasat in Barni's times was the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Its functions are described by Barni with reference to Yaqub Nazir, who Sultan Ala uddin put in charge of it. T.F.S.

493. Ms damaged. Reading baz niayand (باز نیایند).

494. The sentence left incomplete in the Ms. A lacuna follows.
NASIHAT X111.
495.
A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of Nasihat (نصیحت).

496. Reading agar for akbar (اگر for اکبر).

497. Reading ba kharabi for ba kharami (بخرابی for بخرامی).

498. A lacuna.

499. For the principle of repentance in thenQuran see 11:37, Lxx111:20 - God is forgiving. Also for a comment see Mohammad Ali, Holy Quran, p. 2Z. Reading siyasat (سیاست) in this sentence.

500. Ms not clear. Reading sar-i-nijat (سر نجات).

501. Barni is making a distinction here between those whom God nurtures under the wings of His mercy. So the word ba'afiat is to be read as baunfi'at (بعنفیت for بعافیت), so that the distinction may be clear.

501a. Qisas. According to Muslim law it is applied in cases of killing, and of wounding which do not prove fatal. In the former case it is known qisas fil nafs (blood vengeance) and in the latter qisas fi-madum al-nafs. Vide Enc of Isl, vol 2, part 2, p. 1038. Edi, 1927. It is synonymous with retaliation. It can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. For its application also certain conditions are necessary. Enc of Isl, p. 1040. Also see Hughes, pp. 481-82.

502. A lacuna on the same folio line 5. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of nafiz (نافذ).

503. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of siyasat (سیاست).
503a. Reading tundkhui (تندخوئی).
504.
A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of dimar (دمار).

505. Reading junbinda for jashda (جنبنده for جشده).

506. Reading bani for pai (بنی for پی).

507. Reading Adam for dam (آدم for دم).
507a. Reading yaband (یابند).
508.
Literally clipped.

509. Reading khun and guyanda (خون and گوینده).

510. Reading jawab for khwab (جواب for خواب). Ms repeats salah (صلاح).

511. Reading muhsin muhsina (محسن محسنه).

512. The context requires the insertion of bashad. (باشد).

513. Reading ghasib (غاصب). In the same line reading ba tegh for ba tanu (بتیغ for بتنو).

514. Text damaged. Reading na kunand (نکنند).

515. Reading bar bachcha (بر بچه).
515a. Reading halikan for haligan (هالکان for هالگان).
516.
Text damaged. Reading barai wuruyat (برای وروییت).

517. Reading az batinha. (از باطنها).

518. Reading mujauwaz (مجوز).

519. Text damaged. The context appears to require the insertion of maqsud (مقصود) which Barni usually uses with matlub (مطلوب).

520. Text damaged. Reading dar awan-i-siyasat. (در آوان سیاست).

521. Text damaged. Reading niko beshanasand (نیکو بشناسند).

522. Text damaged. The context appears to require the insertion of badshah (بادشاه).

523. Text damaged. Reading padshahan-i-dindar (پادشاهان دیندار).

524. Text damaged. Reading kard, yake (کرد, یکی).

525. Text damaged. Reading kunad wa baze ba habs (کند و بعضی بحبس).

526. Reading ba lat tadib (به لت تادیب).

527. Text damaged. Reading rasanad and chunanke pish-i-yak khalifa (رسانند and چنانکه پیش یک خلیفه).

528. Reading mutanabbeh (مشتبہ).

529. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of dast (دست).

530. A lacuna.
531. Reading mu'abid-i-but parastan (معابد بت پرستان).
532. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of ma'abud (معبود).
533. A lacuna. The words in brackets are my additions.

534. A lacuna. The words in brackets are my additions.

535. The Quranic verse and the following hadis are written in Arabic.

536. Reading mal for bal (مال for بال).

537. Reading jurme for jare (جرمی for جری).

538. A clerical error in the Ms. Reading umara wa wuzara (امرای و وزرای).

539. The context appears to require the insertion of nah (نہ).

540. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of hikayat (حکایت).

541. A short lacuna.

542. A clerical error. Reading adami (آدمی).

543. Ms not clear. The nearest rendering appears to be mard (مرد).

544. This anecdote of Barni about Mamun does not prove very convincing. The basic reason for the rebellion of A.H. 202 (A.D. 817) was Mamun's proclaiming Imam Ali-ur-Raza as his successor and the Shi'ite proclivities of his minister, Fazl b. Sahl. For details of this rebellion see Muir, Caliphate, pp. 498-99. It is however true that Mamun punished no one, because he realised that by remaining at Merv he had gone out of touch with Baghdad public opinion.

Barni's next anecdote in this Nasihat concerns the Tubbas as Barni calls them,. Southern Arabia can boast of an early civilisation all memories of which are lost, and which can only be investigated on the basis of inscriptions; all written records having perished. Tubba is the royal title that has survived in Islamic literature of the second Himarayite kings of the period (A.D.378-525). For details see Hitti, pp. 49-60. Arthur Jeffery in his Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran says that Tubba meaning to follow is a South Arabian word and often occurs in old Arab poetry. p, 89. The Quran also refers to them: ' Are they better or the people of Tubba and those before them? We destroyed them, for surely they were guilty'. xliv:37, Also L:14.

NASIHAT NO XIV.

545. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of Nasihat (نصیحت).

546. An error of spelling. It should be ضابطه not ضابته . Here some explanation of the term Zabita needs to be given. In Persian a number of words are used for laws which are not based on the Sharia, but on the other hand are based on the extensive authority of rulers and law framers. They have been called Torahs after the old Testament, Yasa after after Changiz Khan, Tuzuk, aslub, ai'n zawabit and so forth. Barni has used zawabit and aslub in his books.

547. Text damaged. Reading badshah. (بادشاه).

548. Text damaged. Reading (. . . . . . . که بادشاهان و وزرای و حکمای وضع کرده است
گرد پیش آمدان و زمان آن ضابطه را اتباع نتوانید نمود).

549. Text damaged. Reading (جمع کنید و ضابطهای دیگر پدید).

550. A very clear example of the date of the composition of the F.J. But Sultan Mahmud did not rule for so many years. See translators Introduction, where the authorship of the work has been examined critically.

551. Text damaged. Reading chandin khalale wa zalale (چندین خللی و زللی).

552. Text damaged. Reading zabitahai digar (ضابطهای دیگر).

553. Text damaged. Reading be andak fikre (به اندک فکری).

554. Reading nakr for bashkar (نکر for بشکر).

555. A clerical error. Reading mashshaq for mushtaaq (مشّاق for مشتاق).

556. Barni uses the word amzija for mizaj (امزجه for مزاج).

557. Reading hasad for chand (حسد for چند).

558. Reading nataij for mashaikh (نتائج for مشائخ).

559. A clerical error. Reading dindar for darindar (دیندار for درندار).

560. Text damaged. It appears from the context that the missing word could be uqba (عقبی).

561. Tingiri is the Turkish term for God.

562. A clerical error. Reading didam for digar (دیدم for دیگر).

563. Reading khail wa tab'a. (خیل و تبع).

564. Reading shir dilan (شیردلان). As Barni is describing the awards of commandership of the army by Qadr Khan to men of merit, the word buzdilan (بزدلان) will not fit in.

565. Amir-i-Tuman and Amir-i-Hazara. Amir-i-Tuman in the Delhi Sultanate used to command a body of ten thousand soldiers, and Amir-i-hazarah was in charge of one thousand soldiers. Barni, T.F.S. p. 219. See Aziz Ahmed, p. 355. Also Qureishi, p. 153. The use of these terms is also found in the writings of Amir Khusrau. Vide Qureishi, 153. Barni has constantly used the terms prevalent in pre-Mughal Muslim India in his F.J. The vocabulary of his T.F.S. and the F.J., are very much identical.

566. The words ba dar dunya are used in contrast with the words bairunian (دردنیا in contrast بیرونیان), whcih shows that by the former words he means the people of one's own realm.

567. A clerical error. Reading hazar dar hazar (ہزار در ہزار).

568. Previously Barni said that it is since the last thirty-six years that Sultan Mahmud has been ruling on the basis of these regulations, and now he mentions thirty-eight. This indicates that his statements repudiate eachother.

569. Reading nadiham for diham (ندہم for دہم).

570. Several historians have related the advent of Qadr Khan. For exa Tab Nas, Rav, pp 84-87, Ibn-ul-Asir, (cit Barthold, p.211), Gardizi, pp. 82-85, Utbi (cit by Barthold, p. 281.) Gardizi call Qadr Khan the king of all Turkestan and the great Khan. He also gives a picturesque description of the feast, Barni has related, but no mention of the conversation about the investigations of eachother's state-regulations is found. Utbi calls him the ruler of Khutan. But no authority supplies us with the information that Qadr Khan embraced Islam at the hands of Mahmud. Later the F.J., describes that how Sultan Mahmud regretted Qadr Khan's being a non-Muslim. Had he been a Muslim, Mahmud would have handed over his kingdom to him, and after having shaved his head taken the road to Hejaz. Fareishta also gives us an account of the Khans of Khutan, Briggs, vol 1, pp. 42-43. But the kingdom of Qadr Khan is not to be confused with the KaraKhitain kingdom headed by Taniko Taraz and founded in A.D. 1123. The T.N., gives a good description of the rise of the Karakhatais. It says: ' The reign of Sultan Sanjar was coming to a close .... Sanjar marched to suppress them...... the army of Islam was defeated. This happened in A.D. 1141. ' Rav, pp. 327-330. Barni's purport of the story is that how a non-Muslim ruler could govern with the help of man-made laws, but how when he finds that the Sharia supplies better rules of government, he accepts Islam. For the rise Of Karakhitain kingdom see Sykes, pp 49,50 and Bertschneiders, Medieval Researches, vol 1, pp. 208-235.

NASIHAT NO XV.

571. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

572. A lacuna.

573. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of wa hawa (وهوا).

574. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of naib (نائب).

575. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of alam (عالم).

576. The context seems to require the insertion of nah (نہ).

577. Reading dihad (دہد).

578. Reading itraq for atraf (اطراق for اطراف).

579. This number is obviously missing in the text. The text gives No 5; mentions the sixth characterstic of the inborn high resolve and then gives No 7.

580. Reading hamchunan (ہمچنان).

582.
581/ Reading twenty thousand (بیست ہزار) because here Barni is giving examples of Sultan Mahmud's incomparable generosity. He has already quoted horses in thousands so camels and mules could not be only be fifty (پنجاه). They must amount to thousands also.

583. In the Ms the word darugh (دروغ) is used with ta'am (طعام). This obviously is a clerical error. The nearest substitute appears to be dugh (دوغ), whichliterally means eugort.

584. Ms breaks off. From folio 172a line 13 to folio 173a the Ms is left blank. On folio 173b the copyist has wrongly copied the anecdote, which is related on folio 176a onwards. Here it appears that the first portion of the anecdote related on folio 176a has been copied on folio 173b. I am thus translating folio 173b after folio 176a line 14. Probably the original Ms may hve been transposed and so this mistake occurs.

585. Is Barni using the Persian word ashna or Hindi word ashnan here? In the F.j., the use of Hindi vocabulary is enormous; hence it is not surprising that her e the term is ashnan. However I have stuck to the original word ashna in the Ms.

586. Reading madrah wa madharj (مدرح و مدرج).

587. Reading ghurbat (غربت). It is used by Barni in the same line twice more.

588. A clerical error. Reading jahangiri for jahandari (جہانگیری for جہانداری).

589. The first portion of the anecdote copied on folio 173b ought to have been here. I am however, translating it here. From the first sentence of of this anecdote it appears that the beginning is still wanting.

590. Sakin repeated in the Ms. Reading sakin gasht (ساکن گشت)-.
591. Reading miras for miraft (میراث for میرفت).
592. Reading dur na raft (دور نرفت).

593. A lacuna. The words in brackets are my insertions.

594. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of shuma (شما).

595. Reading Dara.

596. Neither the Sikander Nama of Nizami nor the Rauzat-us-Safa nor the Shah Nama support this anecdote. For exa see R.S., Rehatsek, vol 11, part, 1, pp. 241-264. Atkinson, Shah Nama, pp. 496-510.

NASIHATXV1.

597.
This Nasihat is numbered XV11 in the Ms. I am following my numerical order.

598. Reading mashhaq for mushtaq (مشتاق for مشتاق). This clerical error occured before in the Ms.

599. Reading la yamkin (لایمکن).

600. Compare T.F.S., where Barni gives similar advice to Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq, p. 522. In the F.J., the author while giving this advice to an unpopular ruler goes a step further. In the T.F.S., he suggests abdication and retirement, but here he suggests suicide. Obviously Barni could not have been brave enough to suggest to the Sovereign to commit suicide.

601. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of qasd (قصد).

602. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of hadisa (حادثہ).

603. Reading yadgar (یادگار).

604. Reading wisal (وصال).

605. Reading aakhir-ul-Idrak (آخر الادراک).

606. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of musta'ad (مستعد).

607. If this is the name of a particular work on the Khwarazmians it does not appear to be extant.

608. According to Hughes it consists of one misqal weight. Vide Dic, p.85.

609. In English equivalent ot Franks. In India by the term Firangi is meant an Englishman.

610. This anecdote of Barni about Khwarazm Shah fails to be convincing in the light of historical evidence. For example Barthold says: ' It suited the policy of the Caliphate to keep a dummy Khwarazm Shah '. Vide Turkestan, 233. Nevertheless Khwarazm at the time of the Caliph was a directly administered area in charge of a sub-governor. It had no governor or ruler to declare war or peace independently. Consequently there could not have been a prince against whom the army of the Caliphate would have marched. Reference to the kings of Egypt and Syria seems equally vague. During this time both these countries were directly administered areas of the Caliphate.

NASIHAT NO XV11.

611. This Nasihat is numbered XV111 in the Ms.

612. Reading mashshaq for mushtaq (مشّاق for مشتاق).

613. A wao (و) is superfluous here. This whole discussion appears to be based on the author's reminiscences of the severe measures and exactions of his patron Sultan Mohammmad b. Tughlaq.

614. Reading t'uab for b'uas (تعب for بعث). For the mystic doctrine of Gnosis see K.Mahjub, Nicholson, pp. 267-76.

615.
Barni is dealing with this point very methodically. He takes a religious approach to this question. He says even God does not expect from His servants more than they are capable of. The king thus must not be severe in his demands.

616. The Quran does not allow punishments on the basis of doubt but on the basis of evidence. For example in the case of sins which are extremely private e.g., adultery and forcination four witnesses were required to testify to the crime. The slightest difference in their statements would fail to prove the charge and the accused will have the benefit of doubt.

617. Reading aun (عون).

618. Reading tazlil (تذلیل).

619. Reading iitmar for iismar (اثمار for اسمار).

62o. Reading ayyimma for amma (ایّما for امّا).

621. Is Barni referring to a particular commentary on the Sunnah of Muhammad? None of the well-known traditionists like Imam Bukhari , Ibn-i-Majah, Hanbal, Muslim or Muslim have named their works thus.

622. Reading khijlat for khijrat (خجلت for هجرت).

623. The context reqmires the insertion of nah (نه) here.

624. The wealth of Korah or Qarun is proverbial in Islamic literature. The Ms is left blank from folio 191a line 13 onwards to folio 191b line 4.

625. Reading maqnatis for maqnalis (مقناطیس for مقنالیس).

626. Reading nashunid for bishunuwand (نشنید for بشنید).

627. Reading bist sal for nist sal (بیست سال for نیست سال).

628. Is this reference to the Sasanian emperor, Yazdjurd 1, the wicked, who ruled A.D. 399- 420. Vide Sykes, Hist of Per, vol 1, p. 429. The Rauzat-us-Safa says about him: ' When he ascended the throne he shed much blood, and having raised the dust of confusion and wickedness, he began to despise learned men, as well as to ill-treat his subjects and the army '. Rehatsek, vol 11, part 1, pp. 350-1. Also the T.N., refers to him. Vide Raverty, p. 5.

NASIHAT NO XV111.

629. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of Nasihat (نصیحت).

630. Reading shaisteh (شایسته).

631. Reading adl for ad (عدل for عد).

632. Compare Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, A.M., whcih says: ' Had there been no Sultan men would have swallowed each other '. It further says: ' The king is the Shadow of God ', f. 83b.

633. For a discussion of this see Translator's Introduction part 111.

634. Reading tasir for shar (تاثیر for شر).

635. Reading umur for aur (امور for اور).

636. Text transposed from folio 195b line 7. The continuation of this folio appears on folio 197a line 6. Hence I am translating it in this order.

637. Literally sewing, stitching.

638. The Quran says: ' The noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the noblest among you in conduct '. 49:13. According to Hadis - ' The best of you are those who have excellent morals '. B.61:23.

639. Reading mushrik for mubashir (مشرک for مُبشّر).

640. Reading aadmi ru (آدمی رو).

641. Ahl-i-Suffa. The Kashaf of Hajweri devotes an exclusive chapter to the discussion of the ' People of the Verandah '. Chap 1X, pp81-82. About these men it says: ' Know that all Muslims are agreed that the Apostle had a number of Companions, who abode in his Mosque and engaged in devotion, renouncing the world and refusing to seek a livelihood '. Nicholson, p. 81.

642. Reading aab wa alif (آب و علف).

643. The same humiliating statement is made by Barni through the medium of Qazi Mughis ud-din of Bayana in his T.F.S. There Barni states that a non-Muslim should open his mouth while paying the jizya so that the Muslim tax-collector could spit.

644. The Hindus treat cow as a sacred animal. They use cow-dung for cleaning their houses.

645. Islam recognises four Heavenly Books viz Taurat, Zaboor and Injil. Of course Quran is one of the four.
646. Here Barni seems to be hitting at Sultan Firoz Tughlaq.
647. No work known by the name Tarikh-i-Sanjari and written by Moin Asm appears to be extant. This work is the only exception to which Barni refers - all other works being compiled before the advent of Sultan Mahmud. There are certain things in the anecdote quoted by Barni about Sultan Sanjar that one is inclined to think that Barni was indeed suffering from a lapse of memory. No reference of a work of this kind is found either in Ibn-i-Khalliqan or Storey or in latest works done on the Seljuks and their institutions. No such book h as been quoted by Prof Lambton in her thesis ' Contribution to the Study of Seljuk Institutions '.

648. Reading bandigan for bandan (بندگان for بندان).

649. It occurs in a versified form in the Ms.

650. Of the four poets of the later Seljuk period , Prof Browne says: ' Anwari is at once the most ancient and most celebrated '. About the details of his,life the same scholar remarks: ' And so poor Anwari, scholar by taste and poet by profession, is torn asunder between this and that, neither content to share the scholar's poverty nor able to reconcile himself to the hollow insincerity of the courtier's life; keenly sensitive to the rebuffs

to which his vocation exposes him, holding his way of life in bitter contempt, longing to follow the footsteps of Avicenna, yet living the life of Abu Nuwas' . Lit His, vol 11, pp. 364-90. Browne also cites some anecdotes about Anwari and Sultan Sanjar.

651. Sanjar at the time of his death was a little over seventy three and his reign lasted for sixty two years according to the T.N., Rav, p. 157. Sanjar was unable to maintain intact the empire of his ancestors. He was unable to subdue his rebel governor, Iti'siz of Khwarazm and he was defeated and captured by the Ghuzz Turks in A.D.1151 and kept in a cage. He escaped from the Ghuzz captivity only to die heart-broken in A.D.1157. Vide Sykes, vol 11, pp 49-51. Barthold remarks: ' Thoroughly reliable information has come down to us that the last of the powerful Seljuk Sultans, Sanjar, could neither read or write, and we do not know if their predecessors were any better educated, though Malik Shah is sometimes represented as possessing more culture '. p. 308.

NASIHAT NO X1X.

652. The Ms numbers it XX.

653. Reference to the Qutranic verse: 4:59. Also reference to a well-known Hadis: Bukhari, 11:11 as cit by Mohammad Ali in his Manual of Hadis.

654. Reading amr wa Imarat (امر و امارت).

655. Reading ashraf for ashraq (اشراف for اشراق).

656. Reading akhyar, (اخیار).

657. A lacuna.

658. Reading munahiyyat (منہیات).

659. Reading razail (رذائل).

660. A lacuna follows.

661. Reading bayad (باید).

662. The reference to the Chishtiya mystics of Barni's times is very clear. How Barni's own spiritual guide Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya declined the royal offer of posts. Vide T.F.S., p. 207. Also Khair-ul-Majalis, conversation 23 as cit by Nizami, Isl Cul, p. 12. Oct 1948.

663. Reading manasib wa masanid (مناصب و مسانید). Also reading nalaiq (نالائق) for nah layaq (نہ لائق).

664.
The context appears to require the insertion of nah (نہ) here.

665. A lacuna.

666. It appears that the name of Umar is missing in the Ms by oversight. The author is speaking about Abu Bakr and Umar both throughout.

667. Reading dunya for din, because Barni is emphasising that the seekers of this material world ought not to be enlisted among the helpers and supporters of the king.

668. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the words dum shart (دوم شرط).

669. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the words sim shart (سیم شرط).

670. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the words chaharum shart (چهارم شرط).

671. A lacuna.

672. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertionof the words hikayat wa tamsil (حکایت و تمثیل).

673. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word hikayat (حکایت).

674. Reading khwab for kharab (خواب for خراب).

675. Reading asar for az (اثر for از).

676. Rai, Rana and rawat were the titles of the Hindu aristocracy in medieval India. ~~He was also the driver of the royal litter~~ For the office of Rawat see Wilson, Glossary of Indian Terms, p. 441.

677. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of ausaf-i-aawan wa ansar. (اوصاف اعوان و انصار).

678. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of ain ast (این است).

679. A lacuna follows. It will be seen that Barni is repeating the same qualifications again and again. I have not translated if a qualification is repeated.

680. A lacuna follows.

681. A lacuna follows.

682. A lacuna follows.

683. A lacuna follows.

684. A lacuna follows.

685. In this anecdote Barni draws upon Bahram Gur, the Sasanian emperor (A.D. 420-440). He fought and made an honourable treaty with Rome, he defeated the White Huns and settled the affairs of Armenia. He administered justice with impartiality, he encouraged science, letters and agriculture, and did not allow his love of sport to interfere with his duties. When he died in A.D. 440, Persia was at the zenith of her power and prestige. Vide Sykes, vol 1, pp. 431-35. Also R.S., Rehatsek, vol 11 part 1, pp. 356-62.

NASIHAT XX.

686. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

687. Reading agar for akar bar (اگر for اکربر اگر). A repitition in the Ms.

688. A lacuna.

689. Barni has already referred to Mazdak and his disdainful influence on the Sasanian ruler Qubad. A lacuna follows. The context appears to require the insertion of darin Nasihat (درین نصیحت).

690. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word hikayat (حکایت).

691. This work is reported to be the composition of Imam Sa'alibi. For details see the previous note on him where Barni had referred to his other work. Here of course Barni is not quoting the name of the author.

692. Reading akhyafi (اخیافی). The word adani (عدانی) appears superfluous here.

693. Reading mazool not mazul (معزول not منزول).

694. Reading akhyafi (اخیافی).

695. See note 693.

696. In this anecdote Barni refers to Marwan b. Hakim, who was the grand nephew of Caliph Usman, and who appointed him as his secretary. Later on he himself became Caliph and founded the dynasty of the Marwanids. Dr Lammens expresses the following opinion about him: ' Marwan showed himself a statesman worthy of the highest rank........ He remained on the throne just long enough to save the future Ummayad fortunes from imminent collapse, and to save the future of the younger branch of this dynasty which bears his name '. Vide Enc of Isl, vol 111, pp. 307-308. Also see Muir, Caliphate, chap xxlx for the unpopulartiy of Usman, p. 207.

One thing needs to be emphasised here. All other Nasaih in the F.j., are of larger size than this Nasihat. The author has not as usual discussed the moral of his Nasihat and very soon gives the illustration. From the occurence of so many lacunae in this Nasihat it appears as if the first portions of it are wanting.

NASIHAT NO XXI.

697. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

698. A lacuna.

699. A spelling mistake in the Ms. Reading فردلیت for فردصیت.

700. A lacuna.

701. Ms damaged. Reading nakas (ناکس).

702. A lacuna.

703. Barni often indulges in rehtorical questions. Here a very good example is found.

704. Reading darhami wa barhami (درہمی و برہمی).

705. Reading badzadgan (بدزادگان) which Barni is using in equivalent terms with kamzadgan (کم زادگان). The contents of the folio 195b line 7 onwards are to be enjoined here. Hence I am translating them now.
706.
A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of fariftah (فریفته).

707. Previously when Barni referred to the two Saffarid brotheres Yaqub Lais and Umru Lais he quoted the work History of the Samanids, and now he is drawing upon the Tarikh-i-Khorasan. The name of the author is not mentioned.

708. Reading muddatfor muddo (مدّت for مدّو).

709. Reading nihab (نهب).

710. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word hikayat (حکایت).

711. A lacuna. The words in brackets are my addtions.

712. Reading julah nizadan (جولہ نژادان) meaning offsprings of a weaver.

713. This anecdote bears a glowing witness to Barni's theory of caste-system among Muslims. Men belonging to menial professions like weaving, tavern-keeping and the trade of butchers are to be excluded from appointment to governmental posts. They are not even allowed to learn higher trades. They must stick to the profession they belong to. Barni by fostering this theory bears a great resemblance to those who foster the theory of caste-system in Hinduism.

NASIHAT NO XX11.

714. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

715. A lacuna.

716. Text damaged. Reading nawishtah (نوشته).

717. A lacuna.

718. A lacuna.

719. Reading mukabira garan for bukabira garan (بکابره گران for مکابره گران).

720. Reading hamisha (همیشه).

721. A lacuna.

722. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word hikayat (حکایت). Also reading Simjurians for Sinjurians (سمجوریان for سنجوریان).

723. Text damaged. Reading (dar aan) (در آن).

724. Text damaged. Reading Arsalan Jazib (ارسلان جاذب).

725. Text damaged. Reading si wa chahar sad (سی و چهار صد).

726. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of hazar (هزار).

727. Reading aawargi (آوارگی).

728. Lit principal.

729. Reading mal for bal (مال for بال).

730. Reading benashinand (بنشینند).

731. Reading pushish (پوشش).

732. How far the Mahmud of history embodies these qualities is already studied in the Translator's **Introduction**, part 11?

733. Reading fateh kunand (فتح کنند).

734. Reading hukme (حکمی).

735. In this anecdote Barni has dilated upon the Simjuris. The appanage

of the Simjuris was Kuhistan. The two members of the Simjuri family, Abul Hasan and his son, Abu Ali were appointed governors of Khorasan by the Samanid kings. They were on the whole unsatisfactory as governors. When Abu Ali revolted against the overlord, the Samanid king Abul Qasim b. Mansur, Subuktigin came to the help of Abul Qasim, and Abu Ali met a defeat. The vanquished was given under the custody of Subuktigin and died in A.D. 997. See Utbi as cit Nazim, Mahmud of Ghazna, pp. 30-31. Also Barthold, pp 246-53.

NASIHAT NO XX111.

736. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

737. Reference here is to the Quranic verse. V:20.

738. The context appears to require the insertion of neh (نہ) here.

739. Reading majbul (مجبول).

740. Reading (الناس علی دین ملوکھم).

741. Reading zaman bar zaman (زمان بر زمان).

742. Reading mubarat for miras (مبرات for میراث).

743. Reading mahav gardad for mahav na gardad (محو گردد for محو نگردد).

744. Reading az razail (از رذائل).

745. Reading gharamat for karamat (غرامت for کرامت).

746. Here Barni is giving expression to a very subtle point. How in a round about way he is giving permission to his rulers to resort to lies if the need be. He is a great believer in - ' Necessity makes things lawful, which are otherwise unlawful '. This is Barni's usual style of expressing his ideas through insinuations, which he admits in his T.F.S. and the F.J. Vide Epilogue.

747. Reading aamir for aalam (عامر for عالم).

748. Text damaged. Reading (از ارتکاب رذائل مذکور محترز).

749. For a discussion of this question see Translator's Introduction part 111.

750. Reading Ulama-i-Aakhirat (علمائے آخرت).

751. The sentence requires the insertion of this verb. Also reading tar for

dar in the same line (تر for در).

752. The sentence require the insertion of neh (نه) here.

753. Reading hujjat for muhabbat (حجت for محبت). The text repeats it correctly in the following sentence.

754. Reading Israr for ihtiraz (اصرار for احتراز). In the same line reading aeb for gheb (عیب for غیب).

755. Probably this is not an independent work. These sayings of the pre-Muslim Persian kings are recorded in many works of the medieval Muslim and non-Muslim writers. They were regarded by them as very valuable as guides to their views. For an account of Faridun see Shah Nama, Atkinson 's Abridged Trans , pp. 36-60.

756. Reading tazwirat (تزویرات).

757. Reading ham kalmeh shawad (هم کلمه شود).

758. Text damaged. Reading ba sad nau gunah (بصد نوع گناه).

759. Reading ba ghazabe wa shume (بغضبی و شومی).

760. The text says - مستحق میشود .

761. Reading tabzir wa asraf (تبذیر و اسراف).

762. The verb in brackets is my addition.

763. A lacuna in the text.

764. A lacuna.

765. Reading sifat-i-bar andazgi (صفت برانداز گی).

766. A short lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of ba'as (باعث).

767. Reading izhar for ihsas (اظهار for احساس).

768. Reading - الملک یبقی مع الکفر ولا یبقی مع الظلم . Barni is giving expression to the same views, which his predecessor Nizam ul-Mulk has sponsered in S.N. For a comment on this see Isl Qua, Apr 1954, Art by Prof Lambton on the Nasihat-ul-Muluk of Ghazzali.

769. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word hikayat (حکایت).

770. The context appears to require the insertion of ahad (عہد) after shakistan (شکستن).

771. A clerical error in the Ms. Reading be shunuwand for na shunuwand (بشنوند for نشنوند).

772. A short lacuna. The word in brackets is my insertion.

773. Text damaged. Reading - رسول بحکم فرمان چہارم روز بدرگاه.

774. Text damaged. Reading - اورا در خلوت طلبید.

775. Text damaged. Reading - استعداد کار بزرگیران.

776. Text damaged. Reading dar tamam (در تمام).

777. Reading in the first line razail-i-mazkur (رذائل مذکور). Text damaged. The words within brackets are my insertions.

778. Barni by mentioning the dialogue of the ambassador of Nausherwan to the Qaiser of Rum to the effect that if the rulers possess a blemish, they are overthrown by their subjects, gives us a ground to think - Barni had a consciousness of the rebellion of subjects against bad rulers, though he nowhere speaks of it in the F.J. He has not justified the deposition of rulers.

NASIHAT NO XX1V.

779. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word Nasihat (نصیحت).

780. This does not seem to be a title of a certain work, which is extant on the history of the Creation.

781. This dialogue of Barni between the two sons is not corroborated by works on the ancient history. Neither the T.N., nor the R.S., nor the Tarikh of Tabari support it. But this reflection of Barni is important for us.

782. Reading ba rasm (برسم).

783. Reading dil dad (دل داد).

784. The word Uqba appears superfluous here. The sentence needs to be read mel kunad wa dar khatir (میل کند ودر خاطر).

785. A lacuna. The context appears to require the insertion of the word hikayat (حکایت).

786. Barni has referred to this work before as well but he has not on any occasion quoted the name of its author.

787. Reading ashraqha for ash'raqha (اشرقها for اشعرقها).

788. Reading majra for ijra (ماجرا for اجرا).

789. Reading rahiban for baran (راهبان for بران).

790. Reading mushtaghal for mustaqbil (مشتغل for مستقبل).

791. Here Barni's last Nasihat comes to an end.

792. From this epilogue of Barni his readers are led to conclude that the F.J., is tha composition of the same pen as the T.F.S., and the Nat-i-Mohammadi. Unfortunately a su bstantial portion of the author's Introduction to the F.J., is missing, and this loss does deprive his readers to investigate about the conditions of his personal life. But luckily this brief epilogue compensates to a certain extent for the loss. Barni as in his other works is here again complaining against the treachery of the sky, animosity of his adversaries and the state of his penury.

793. Reading kardam (کردم).

794. The same claim of the superiority of his composition over the past works on the same subject is found in all the three other works of Barni, the T.F.S., N.M., and the T.A.B.

795. This is a very clear reference to the eminent poet of Barni's times, who flourished during the reign of Sultan Ala ud-din Khilji. In his T.F.S., Barni states about his being on friendly terms with this poet.

796. Reading sarih wa ziman (صریح و ضمن).

797. This is Barni's style of stating his reflections. Obviously a man like Barni, who had sad experiences at the hands of the reigning monarch, would be inclined to speak his mind about the injustice done to him, but just because the royal fear acts as a check, he is precluded from mentioning them in a straight-forward way. He thus expresses them through insinuations and informs his readers to this effect in order that they may follow his implications.

798. Reading bidarand for na darand (بیدارند for ندارند).

799. From this sentence onwards the author's statements appear to be in a versified form and they are copied in the same way.

800. Reading tabahkar (تباهکار).

801. The Ms expressly states: ' The end of the book '. But an attempt is found by someone to build upon this work. The writer repeats what Barni has already stated in the last Nasihat. A closer study also reveals the

difference of vocabulary and style. Transcription however, is the same. I am translating this portion as a seperate part.

802. Reading ma du baradar yake man wa dum mehtar Shis (ما دو برادر یکی من و دوم مهتر شیث).

803. Reading bashad (باشد).

804. Reading jahan ra (جهان را).

805. The Ms breaks off on folio 248a line 11. The person, who attempted to add to the F.J., has even left the sentence incomplete.

APPENDIX A

History of the Manuscript.

The MS originally belonged to the Oriental Library of Tippu Sultan, from where it was passed on to the East India Company Library. The MS contains two seals of the East India Company Library. In 1858, with the abolition of this library, it was transferred to the India Office library, where it is now preserved.

On the fly leaf of the MS there is found a seal bearing the name Abdul Wahab Khan, who could either be the copyist of this work or the owner of the present copy. This seal also contains a date, which reads 115 - the fourth figure being illegible. From this date it can be inferred that probably the present copy was transcribed in the first half of the 17th century.

At the end of the manuscript there is an additional folio which contains the names of some medicines, and the whole thing reads as if it is a prescription for certain diseases. This suggests that the manuscript was in the possession of a private family before it belonged to the Oriental Library of Tippu Sultan. The handwriting of this leaf is quite different from that of the text itself, and does not seem to exercise any direct bearing on the text. The fly leaf contains a seal on the top, but the contents cannot be deciphered. On the fly leaf the title of the work "Fatawa-i-Jahandari i.e. Nasaih Jahandari" also occurs, and the writing resembles that on the additional leaf at the end of the manuscript.

APPENDIX B

A list of lacunae, transpositions and damage in the manuscript

F. 1b, LL. 1-6, 9-11, last line missing. F. 2a, LL. 6-8, F. 2b, LL. 6-10, F. 3a, LL. 6-8. F. 3b, LL. 6-8. F. 4a, L. 8. F. 4b, L. 6. F. 5b, L. 8. F. 6b, L. 1. F. 7a, L. 8. f. 7b, L. 2. F. 9a, L. 8. F. 9b, LL. 6-7 (missing), L. 8 damaged. F. 10a, L. 1, 8. F. 9b, L. 8, 12-14. F. 11a, L. 3. F. 11b, L. 14, 15. F. 13b, L. 14. F. 14a, L. 6, 8, 14. F. 14b, LL. 6-8. F. 15a, L. 8. F. 15b, LL. 6, 8. F. 16a, LL. 11, 14. F. 16b, L. 15. F. 23b, LL. 4, 11, 12. F. 24a, LL. 1, 8. F. 24b, LL. 1. 13. F. 25a, LL. 6-8. F. 26b, LL. 2-3, 10. F. 27a, L. 1. F. 27b, LL. 6-7. F. 31a, LL. 4-5. F. 33a, LL. 1-2. F. 33b, L. 10. F. 34a, LL. 2-3. F. 34b, LL. 5-6. F. 35a, LL. 12-13. F. 35b, LL. 10-11. F. 36a, L. 11. F. 36b, LL. 3-4. F. 37a, LL. 13-14. F. 38a, L. 15. F. 39a, L. 11. F. 39b, LL. 13-14. F. 40b, L. 6. F. 42b, LL. 2, 4. F. 43b, LL. 3, 8. F. 45a, LL. 11-12. F. 46b, L. 10. F. 47a (repetition). F. 47b, L. 9. F. 49a, L. 11. F. 50a, LL. 8, 10. F. 50b, L. 1. F. 54b, L. 11. F. 57a, L. 14. F. 58a, L. 1. F. 60b, LL. 1, 3. F. 61b, L. 1. F. 62a, L. 1. F. 72b, L. 7. F. 73b, LL. 1-2. F. 74a, L. 1-2. F. 74b, L. 1. F. 75a, L. 1-2. F. 75b, LL. 1-2. F. 76a, L. 1. F. 76b, L. 2. F. 77a, L. 2. F. 78b, LL. 1-3. F. 79a, LL. 1-2. F. 81a, L. 14. F. 84b, L. 3. F. 85a, L. 3. F. 87b, LL. 1-2. F. 90b, LL. 1, 4. F. 91a, L. 1. F. 93b, LL. 1, 8. F. 94b, L. 1. F. 95a, L. 1. F. 95b, L. 1. F. 98b, L. 3. F. 99a, L. 10. F. 99b, L. 7. F. 100a, LL. 2, 12, 13. F. 109b, L. 12. F. 110b, LL. 3, 5. F. 111b, LL. 1, 8, 9. F. 113a, LL. 2, 12. F. 114b, LL. 13, 14, 15.

F. 115a (missing). F. 117a, L. 15. F. 118a, L. 3. F. 121a, LL. 2, 5.
F. 121b, L. 5. F. 131a, repetition from L. 12 - F. 133b, L. 3. F. 136a,
LL. 1, 2. F. 136b, L. 9. F. 137a, L. 2. F. 140b, LL. 2, 14. F. 141b, L. 15.
F. 144a, LL. 5, 13. F. 144b, L. 6. F. 147b, LL. 1,2,3,5. F. 149b, LL. 1,2.
F. 150a, LL. 1, 3. F. 150b, LL. 1,2,3,4,5,6. F. 152a, LL. 1, 2, 3, 5.
F. 152a, LL. 7, 8, 14. F. 152b, L. 1. F. 157a, L. 8. F. 158b (affected by
rain). F. 159a (damaged by rain). F. 159b - until the end, are affected by
rain, but not damaged with the exception of a few. F. 160a, LL. 1, 15.
F. 160b, L. 15. F. 167a, L. 11. F. 167b, LL. 4,11, 12, 13. F. 168b, L. 1.
F. 172a, L. 13, LL. 14, 15 missing. FFs 172b, 173a left blank. F. 174a
(MS transposed L. 2). F. 178a, L. 9. F. 180a, LL. 8, 9. F. 181b, L. 10.
F. 191a, LL. 13, (14 and 15 left blank up to F. 191b, L. 5). F. 193a, L. 8.
F. 195b, LL. 7 - F. 197a, L. 5 transposed. F. 207a, LL. 1, 2. F. 207b, L. 7.
F. 209a, L. 7. F. 210b, LL. 2, 7, 12. F. 211a, LL. 9, 10, 11. F. 213a,
LL. 4-14. F. 213b, LL. 1, 4, 7, 11, 13, 14. F. 214a, LL. 7, 14, 15.
F. 216a, LL. 12, 13, 14. F. 217b, LL. 2, 15. F. 220a, L. 15. F. 220b,
LL. 6, 7, 15. F. 222a, L. 14. F. 222b, LL. 14, 15. F. 223a, LL. 1, 14, 15.
F. 223b, LL. 14, 15. F. 224a, LL. 14, 15. F. 224b, LL. 14, 15. F. 225a,
LL. 8, 9. F. 225b, LL. 1, 2. F. 227a, LL. 1, 2. F. 227b, L. 1. F. 228a,
L. 11. F. 228b, LL. 7, 11. F. 231a, LL. 11, 13. F. 231b, L. 13. F. 237b,
LL. 10, (11,12, 13, 14 blank). F. 238a, LL. 8, 12. F. 239a, L. 5.
F. 240a, L. 4. F. 241b, LL. 2, 3, 4, 5. F. 242a, LL. 4, 6. F. 248a, L. 11
left incomplete.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

B.M. - British Museum. Bib Ind - Bibliotheca Indica. I.O. - India Office Library.

1. Manuscripts. (Authors arranged alphabetically).

Abbreviations.

A.A. 1. Abdul Haq Dehlavi - Akhbar-ul-Akhyar. B.M. Or 221. I.O. 1450.

Afif. T.F.S. 2. Afif, Shams Siraj - Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. Or 162.B.M. Or 1737. B.M. I.O. 1002.

3. Albarasawi, Mohammad Akram. - Sawati-ul-Anwar. I.O. 2705.

4. Al Fazli, Saif ud-din Haji. - Asar-ul-Wuzara. I.O. 1569.

S.A. 5. Amir Khurd, Ali Kirmani. - Siyar-ul-Auliya. B.M. Or 1746.

6. Anonymous. - Fiqh-i-Firoz Shahi. I.O. 2987.

7. Anonymous. - Translation in Persian of Ibn-i-Ishaq's Sirat-un-Nabi. I.O. 1580.

8. Ardastani, Ali Akbar Husain. - Majma-ul-Auliya. I.O. 1647.

9. Awfi, Nur ud-din Mohammad. - Jawami-ul-Hikayat. B.M. Or 16,862.

10. Baihaqi, Abul Fazl. - Tarikh-i-Masudi. B.M. Or 1.

11. Balami, Abu Ali Mohammad. - Persian Translation of Tarikh-i-Tabari. I.O. 738.

12. Bakhtawar Khan. - Riyaz-ul-Auliya. B.M. Or 1745. Or 1881.

Abbreviations.

Abbr.	No.	Author		Title and location
F.J.	13.	Barni, Zia ud-din.	-	Fatawa-i-Jahandari. I.O. 1149.
N.M.	14.	" " " .	-	Nat-i-Mohammadi. Raza Library, Rampur. NO. Tarikh 127.
T.A.B.	15.	" " " .	-	Tarikh-i-Ale Baramaka. B.M. Or 151. I.O. 1961.
T.F.S.	16.	" " " .	-	Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. I.O. 177.
	17.	Bulaq, Mohammad b. Sheikh Abu Mohammad.	-	Matlub-ut-Talibin. I.O. 886.
	18.	Dara Shikoh.	-	Safinat-ul-Auliya. I.O. 660.
	19.	Darvesh Jamali.	-	Siyar-ul-Arifiin. B.M. Or 215.
Z.M.	20.	Hamadani, Ali Shihab.	-	Zakhirat-ul-Muluk. I.O. 2169. B.M. Add 7,618.
	21.	Hasan Nizami.	-	Taj-ul-Ma'asir. B.M. Or 163. Add 7,623.
	22.	Isami, Maulana.	-	Futuh-us-Salatin. I.O. 3089.
S.M.	23.	Isfahani, Fazl b. Ru zbahan.	-	Suluk-ul-Muluk. B.M. Or 253.
T.N.	24.	Juzjani, Minhaj us-Siraj.	-	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. B.M. Add 26,189. I.O. 2553.
Q.N.	25.	Kaiqaus, b. Sikander b. Qabus.	-	Qabus Nama. I.O. 79.
	26.	Kashafi, Husain Wazir.	-	Akhlaq-i-Muhsani. I.O. 3362.
	27.	Khaqani, Nur ud-din Mohammad Qazi.	-	Akhlaq-i-Jahangiri. I.O. 1547.

Abbreviations.

Abbr.	No.	Author	Work
	28.	Khusrau, Amir Dehlavi.	- Ainai Sikanderi. I.O.51.
	29.	" " " .	- Qiran-us-Sadain. I.O.2252.
	30.	" " " .	- Tuhfat-us-Saghir. I.O.412.
R.S.	31.	Mirkhond, Mohammad b. Khawand Shah.	- Rauzat-us-Safa. Vols 1-1V. I.O. 1505-1508.
A.H.	32.	Mubarakshah, Fakhr ud-din alias Fakhr-i-Mudabbir.	- Adab-ul-Harb Wash Shuj'at. B.M. Add 16,853. A copy of the same Ms in I.O.
A.M.			Adab-ul-Muluk wa Kifayat-ul-Mamluk. I.O. 647.
	33.	Muir, Sir William.	- Abstract Translation of the Sirat of Ibn-i-Hisham. I.O. 1o53.
	34.	" " " .	- Abstract Translation of the Sirat of Ibn-i-Sad, Katib, Al Wackidi. I.O. 1o55.
M.J.	35.	Najm us-Sani, Mohammad Baqir.	- Muizzat-i-Jahangiri. I.O. 1666.
	36.	Qalander, Hamid.	- Khair-ul-Majalis. Ms. Aligarh.
	37.	Sijzi, Amir Hasan.	- Fawaid-ul-Fu wad. B.M. Or 1806.
	38.	Sirhindi, Yahya b. Ahmad.	- Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi. B.M. Or 1,673.
	39.	Tusi, Nasir ud-din.	- Akhlaq-i-Nasiri. I.O. 3349.
S.N.	40.	Tusi, Nizam ul-Mulk.	- Siyasat Nama. B.M. Add 23,516. I.O.648.
	41.	Attributed to Nizam ul-Mulk.	- Majma-ul-Wasaya. B.M. Or 256.

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al Beruni.	42.	Al Beruni, Abu Raihan.	- Kitab-ul-Hind. Eng Trans. E.Sachau. Lond, 1888.
	43.	Abdul Haq Dehlavi.	- Akhbar-ul-Akhyar. Delhi, 1889.
	44.	Abul Fazl.	- Ain-i-Akbari. B.L. Calcutta. Eng Trans. Blockmann and Jarrett. Calcutta.
Afif, T.F.S.	45.	Afif, Shams Siraj.	- Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. Bib Ind, 1891.
S.A.	46.	Amir Khurd, Ali Kirmani.	- Siyar-ul-Au liya. Muhib-ul-Hind Press, Delhi, 1884. Urdu Trans. Lahore.
	47.	Anonymous.	- Tuhfat-ul-Muluk. Edi Gul Mohd Khan. Kabul, 1895.
	48.	Attar, Farid ud-din.	- Tazkirat-ul-Auliya. Edi R.A. Nicholson, London, 1905.
Baihaqi.	49.	Baihaqi, Abul Fazl.	- Tarikh-i-Baihaqi. Also called Tarikh-i-Ale Subuktigin, and Tarikh-i-Masudi. Bib Ind, 1862.
	50.	Bakshi, Nizam ud-din.	- Tabaqat-i-Akbari. Bib Ind. Eng Trans. B.De. Bib Ind, Calcutta.
T.A.B.	51.	Barni, Zia ud-din.	- Tarikh-i-Ale Baramaka. Bombay, 1889.

Abbreviations.

T.F.S. — 52. Barni, Zia ud-din. - Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. Bib Ind, Calcutta. 1862.

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B. — 54. Bukhari, Sheikh Mohammad b. Ismail. - Sahih-ul-Bukhari. Cairo, 1902-4.

55. Burhan ud-din. - Al Hidaya. Eng Trans. Hamilton. London, 1870.

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Ara. — 57. Farabi, Abu Nasr Mohammad. - Ara-ul-Ahl-ul-Madaniat-ul-Fazilah. Nil Press, Cairo.

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Z.A. — 61. Gardizi, Abu Said Abdul Hai. - Zain-ul-Akhbar. Edi Mohammad Nazim. 1928.

62. Ghazzali, Abu Hamid Mohammad. - Ahiya-ul-Ulum wad-din. Cairo. A.H. 1306.

Abbreviations.			
Kimiya.	63.	Ghazzali, Abu Hamid Mohammad.	- Kimiya-i-Sa'adat. Bombay Edi.
Tibr	64.	" " "	- Nasihat-ul-Muluk. Tehran. A.H. 1317. Also called Tibr-ul-Masbuk. Edi el Hamzavi Kastaliyah Press. A.H. 1277.
K.M.	65.	Hajweri, Abul Hasan Al Jullabi.	- Kashaf-ul-Mahjub. Lahore Edi. Eng Trans. R.A. Nicholson. G.M.S. 1936.
	66.	Ibn-i-Asir.	- Kamil-ut-Tawarikh. Urdu Trans. Hyderabad, Deccan. 1927.
	67.	Ibn-i-Bututa.	- Kitab-ur-Rahlah. Also called Tuhfat-u n-Nuzzar. Abridged Eng Trans. H.A.R. Gibb. London, 1929.
	68.	Ibn-i-Khaldun.	- Muqqadama. Urdu Trans. Hyderabad, Deccan.
	69.	Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa.	- Al Fakhri. Translation in Eng by C.R.J . Whitting. London. 1947.
	70.	Isami, Maulana.	- Futuh-us-Salatin. Edi Agha Mehdi Husain. Agra, 1938. Another Edi, Madras, 1950.
	71.	Juwaini, Ata Malik.	- Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha. G.M.S. 1912.
T.N.	72.	Juzjani, Minhaj us-Siraj.	- Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. Bib Ind, 1864.
Rav.			Eng Trans. Major Raverty, Bib Ind, 1897.
	73.	Kaki, Khwaja Kutb ud-din Bakhtiyar.	- Dalil-ul-Arifiin. Lucknow, A.H. 1307.

Abbreviations.

Abbreviation	No.	Author		Work
Q.N.	74.	Kaiqaus b. Sikander b. Qabus.	-	Qabus Nama. Edi Rueben Levy, G.M.S. 1951. Eng Trans. R.Levy. London, 1951. Abridged Eng Trans. M.A.Sheikh. Bombay, 1910.
	75.	Kashafi, Husain Wazir.	-	Akhlaq-i-Muhsini. Eng Trans. H.G.Keene. Hertford, 1850.
	76.	Khusrau, Amir Dehlavi.	-	Khazain-ul-Futuh. Aligarh, 1927. Eng Trans. M.Habib. Madras, 1931.
	77.	" " " .	-	Tughlaq Nama. Edi Qudrat Ahmad. Lucknow, 1845.
	78.	Kirmani, Nasr Allah Ibn Mohammad.	-	Persian Translation of Kanz-ud-Daqaiq of Nasafi. Delhi, 1870.
A.S.	79.	Mawardi, Abul Hasan Ali b. Mohammad.	-	Ahkam-us-Sultaniyah. Urdu Trans. Hyderabad, Deccan, 1931.
	80.	Mustawfi, Hamdullah.	-	Tarikh-i-Guzida. G.M.S. 1913.
	81.	Mulla Abdur Rahman Jami	-	Nafahat-ul-Uns. Lucknow, 191o.
R.S.	82.	Mirkhond, Mohammad b. Khwand Shah.	-	Rauzat-us-Safa. Bombay, A.H. 1271. (Partial) Eng Trans. Rehatsek, R.A.S. 1894.
	83.	Mubarakshah, Fakhr ud-din.	-	Nisbat Nama. Edi Sir Denison Ross. London, 1927.
	84.	Nasir Khusrau.	-	Safar Nama. Edi Scheffer. Paris, 1881.
	85.	Nizami, Abu Mohammad.	-	Sikander Nama. Lahore, 1889. Eng Trans. Clarke. London, 1881.

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86. Nizam ud-din Auliya. - Rahat-ul-Qulub. (Considered to be the conversations of Farid ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar and compiled by his chief disciple). Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

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S.N. 92. Tusi, Nizam-ul-Mulk. - Edi Scheffer, Paris, 1897. Also Allahabad Edi, 1931. Abridged Eng Trans. Irani, Bombay,

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(I am indebted to him for giving me a copy of his thesis).